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Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiae Anglicanae

The occasional Offices of the Church of England according to the old use of Salisbury the Prymer in English and other prayers and forms with dissertations and notes

BY

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CHAPTER I.

THE English Prymer of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries is so connected with the breviaries of the Church of England in matter and arrangement (in one sense, indeed, a part of them) that it would seem an unpardonable omission to pass them by unnoticed. I can do little more, however, with regard to breviaries than attempt to give a short account of the ancient divisions and offices of the ecclesiastical day.

The remarks made in another book, in the preliminary dissertation on the liturgies, upon the variety of uses as regarded the missal, which formerly to a much greater extent than now prevailed through the whole western Church, are equally applicable to the breviary. That power which, as I there said, was vested in each bishop to provide as he himself under certain conditions thought best for the public worship of the churches of his diocese, would not have failed to be exercised over the less solemn offices as well as over the most important of them all which concerned the eucharist. Hence there were the breviaries of York, Hereford, and Sarum; all of which were printed before 1560. It is possible that an accurate examination into the manu-

script stores of our great libraries, and especially of colleges and cathedrals, would give us examples still extant of the breviaries of the other great English uses, the Lincoln and the Bangor. The observations which follow will not be affected by the differences, whether great or small, which unquestionably existed between the service books of these five churches.

By the word breviary we are to understand an arrangement of certain Divine offices, constructed out of prayers, and psalms, and hymns, and canticles, and lessons taken from the sacred Scriptures or writings of the holy fathers; which was authorised and ordained to be continually performed before God, at certain hours of the day and night throughout the year, by and for the whole Church.[1]

Other terms to signify the same arrangement are frequently to be met with: such as, *officium Divinum*,[2] or *ecclesiasticum*, or *canonicum;* or *orarium*, or *horæ canonicæ*, and sometimes *cursus.*[3]

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[1] Compare *Azevedo, de Div. off. exercit.* 1.

[2] Or "the Divine service" as Chaucer calls it, speaking of the prioress:—
"Full well she sang the service divine,
Entuned in her nose full sweetely."
Prol. 122.

[3] *Cursus*, to signify the service of the hours, occurs in an early English canon, seventh of the council of Chalcuith, A. D. 785: "Ut omnes ecclesiæ publicæ canonicis horis cursum suum cum reverentia habeant." *Wilkins*, Concilia, tom. 1. 147. About the same time Amalarius wrote, who in his work "de ordine antiphonarii" says in the prologue, "cupio summatim aliquid scribere, quasi quoddam manuale de solis nocturnalibus officiis, et de his, quæ vocantur vulgo cursus." And immediately after, "Cap. 1. Incipit adnotatio de nocturnalibus officiis et diurnalibus, quæ vulgo cursus vocantur." *Bibl. patr. auctarium*, tom. 1. 506.

"Dicuntur horæ, quia certis

Every reader of ecclesiastical history is aware that in the earliest ages, as well as in others which succeeded, there were heretics who affirmed that men should never cease from prayer; such for example as were the Messalians, or Euchitæ. On the other hand there were some, far more numerous, who objected to all stated forms and times for prayer; such as the Pelagians, and many who might be named. Holding, as she ever has, the just mean between these two extremes, and guided by the Holy Spirit of God, His Church laid down precise rules upon this matter. With the one side which she condemned she yet agreed, knowing that there is no time which is not fit to be employed in prayer; that men must pray without ceasing: with the other, no less to be condemned, she yet

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ac distinctis diei horis sunt persolvendæ. Dicuntur canonicæ, quia juxta regulas ab ecclesia constitutas fiunt. Dicuntur officium Divinum, quia ad Dei cultum sunt institutæ; ecclesiasticum, quia nomine ecclesiæ a personis ecclesiasticis persolvuntur. Dicuntur etiam breviarium, quia continent lectiones breviores ex scripturis sacris et homiliis patrum in singulos anni dies distributas. Antiquitus varie iterum appellantur modo opus Dei, nunc cursus ecclesiasticus, alias officium simpliciter, aut psalterium." *Summa S. Thomæ*, Billuart, dissert. 2. art. viij.

Azevedo very rightly refers to cardinal Bona, who explains in his treatise on the singing of the psalter that the name breviary is given to the book "quod in eo concisa, ac sine musicalibus notis ea omnia conscripta sunt, quæ in antiphonariis, aliisque libris choralibus magnis characteribus ad usum cantantium comprehenduntur." And he goes on to say, "Extra omnem controversiæ aleam constitutum est, S. Benedictum officium Divinum ad breviorem formam redegisse; antea siquidem totum psalterium quotidie recitabatur; ipse vero ita rem composuit, ut semel tantum in hebdomada absolveretur." *De div. off. exercit.* 2.

"Breviarium dictum est, quasi breve orarium, sive precum epitome." *Grancolas, comment. in Rom. brev.*, cap. 3.

sympathised, remembering the infirmity and weakness of humanity. Hence, according to the often-cited passage of the psalmist "Septies in die laudem dixi tibi," she especially appointed seven offices for seven different times of the day. These were portions which came to be so well known as the canonical hours.

We do not know when the first opposers sprang up of these laws and customs of the Church. Neither do we know how early the canonical hours were settled. Some would say by popes Damasus, or Gelasius, or Gregory: but these it is quite certain did nothing more than popes in after times; that is, reform or correct the services which they found already in observance.

We read that it was at the third hour when the apostles were assembled together that the Holy Ghost came down on them. Again, "Peter and John went up together into the temple at the hour of prayer, being the ninth hour." It was at night, towards the morning, when St. Peter, after the angel had loosed him from prison, knocked at the gate of the house "where many were gathered together praying." It was midnight when "Paul and Silas prayed and sang praises unto God." Tertullian speaks of the Christians meeting before dawn to worship God.[4] The apostolical constitutions are precise in their directions that prayers should be offered up in the morning, at the third hour, the sixth, the ninth, vespers, and at the cock-crowing.[5] St. Cyprian's injunctions towards the

[4] *De corona*, opera, p. 102. Compare also *De jejuniis*, p. 549: in which place Tertullian even speaks of the hours as horæ apostolicæ.

[5] Lib. 8. cap. xxxiv.

end of his treatise upon the Lord's prayer enforce the duty of prayer at certain hours, and recognise the truth of the application above made of the passages from Scripture.[6] St. Athanasius, St. Basil, St. Augustine, and St. Gregory Nazianzen all testify to the like purpose: and there is no need here to multiply authorities.

The same hours of the day and night have not always been appointed for prayer. Like other matters connected with the public welfare and duties of the Church, this also has been subject to alteration and made suitable to changing circumstances. During persecution it was fitting, because safety required it, that assemblies should be made at night: for a short time afterwards, until experience had proved the dangers which accompanied such meetings in times of peace, the same practice by way of commemoration might not unwisely be continued: afterwards it was forbidden generally to the people, and a new arrangement of the canonical hours was necessary. Hence nocturns became joined with and were to be said with lauds; and the number of the canonical hours was fixed at seven, viz. matins and lauds, prime, tierce, sext, nones, vespers, and compline.

In England the night assemblies appear not to have been discontinued so late even as the middle of the eighth century. One of the excerpts of archbishop Egbert says, "Septem synaxes sancti patres canendas constituerunt, quas omni die clerus singulis horis canere debet; quarum prima est nocturnalis synaxis, secunda prima hora diei," &c.

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[6] Opera, p. 215.

This occurs in a canon especially directed to parish priests.[7] Cardinal Lorenzana, in the preface to his edition of the gothic or as it is usually called the Mozarabic breviary, remarks upon the fact of its containing the night services. He says, "Non leve ad asserendam nostri codicis vetustatem argumentum insurgit ex numero, et ordine horarum canonicarum ad quas aptatur hymnus, et priorum ecclesiæ sæculorum nobis speciem referunt: primo etenim in calce nostri codicis non solum horas matutinas et laudum invenies, sed etiam hymnos ad primam noctis vigiliam: ad galli cantum, quod erat circa medium noctis, et ad pullorum cantum, quod erat circa exurgentem auroram."[8] We may not be entitled to assert positively from the canon of Egbert (cited above) that the nocturns were to be divided and to be said distinct from lauds: but it is probable that the night service was still attended generally by the people. Two hundred years afterwards, Ælfric in his pastoral epistle calls the first canonical hour "matins, with the after song appertaining thereto."[9]

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[7] *Wilkins*, Concilia, tom. 1. 103.

[8] Pref. p. 18. With this compare the account of the Mozarabic services in the chapel at Toledo, upon cardinal Ximenes' foundation, as described in the year 1740: "Sacellani autem sacelli Corporis Christi, diebus singulis recitant totum officium Mozarabicum: mane primam, tertiam, sextam et nonam, nec non missam: post meridiem, vesperas, completorium: et postea dicuntur matutinum et laudes." *Pinius*, tractatus historico-chronologicus, cap. 8. § 5. 365.

[9] Compare the canon of a council in the intermediate century: the 15th of Cloveshoo, A.D. 747: "Ut septem canonicæ orationum diei et noctis horæ—observentur." *Wilkins*, Concilia, tom. 1. 97.

Lyndwood's authority must not be omitted: he tells us the Divine offices consist "in septem horis canonicis, videlicet matutinis, prima, tertia, sexta, nona, vesperis, et completorio."[10] He enumerates the same in another place, when the text having "matutinæ et aliæ horæ" he has to explain what the other hours are.[11]

The names given by the Anglo-saxons to the canonical hours were, uhtsang, primesang, undersang, middaysang, noonsang, evensang, and nightsang.[12]

The times of saying the office were insisted upon with great exactness in the earliest ages: thus Leo IV. exhorts in his homily *de cura pastorali:* "Omni nocte ad nocturnas horas surgite: cursum vestrum certis horis decantate." Other instances are cited by Martene,[13] but the Church was satisfied if the hours were observed nearly about their proper times, viz. prime, tierce, sext, and nones, at the first, third, sixth, and ninth hours of the day, counting from six in the morning; vespers at the eleventh hour, and compline at the twelfth. Matins was always to be said at some time after midnight.[14]

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[10] Lib. I. tit. X. *Sint ecclesiarum.* Lyndwood, lib. 3. tit. xxiij. *Ad excitandos*, verb. *Nocturnum*, explains in what consist the nocturnal and diurnal offices. The first in matins, prime, and compline: the other in tierce, sext, nones, and vespers. This throws light upon the passage above: "nocturnalis synaxis."

[11] Lib. I. tit. 14. *Presbyteri.*

[12] Canons of Ælfric, xix; *Wilkins*, Concilia, tom. I. 252.

[13] Tract. de antiqua ecclesiæ disciplina, cap. I. vj.

[14] As to matins, we find the following among the statutes drawn up by archbishop Walter de Gray of York for the hospital of St. John at Nottingham, A.D. 1291: "Insuper statuimus ut omnes fratres simul surgant ad matutinas, et ita tempestive ut possint matutinæ percantari ante

These rules, within certain limits, were subject to the custom and practice of different places. A more exact observance was required of those who officiated in choir than of those who recited the offices in private; which latter might be done in any place, provided only that it was decent and the attention of the ecclesiastic not disturbed.

Not only was the day thus divided into seven parts but reasons were given for this arrangement. In seven days the creation was completed. "Seven times a day" says the psalmist "do I praise thee, because of thy righteous judgments." Again, seven times a day (another Scripture tells us) the just man falls; there are seven graces of the Holy Spirit, seven divisions of the Lord's prayer, and seven ages of a man's life. The mystery of our redemption was begun and ended in the night: in the middle of the night our blessed Lord was born, and after midnight rose again from the dead. The hours also had each its mystical reference to certain sacred occurrences.[15] I shall extract these from an edition of the Salisbury prymer as they are explained in verse.[16] The verses are commonly to be found in the horæ, prymers, and enchiridions of about the same date, placed under woodcuts of the subjects of each stanza.

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auroram, vel ex ortu auroræ, de festo S. Michaelis usque ad pascha." *Dugdale*, Monast. Ang. vol. vj. p. 679.

[15] These, to mention only one primitive authority, are to be found in Apost. const. lib. 8. cap. xxxiv, cited above.

[16] "The prymer of Salysbury vse, set out a long wout ony serchyng, with many prayers, and goodly pyctures——And be newly enprynted at Rowen. M.ccccc.xxxviij. 8vo."

¶ Ad laudes. De beata Maria.
How Mary the moder and vyrgyn,
Vysyted Elizabeth wyf of Zachary,
Whiche sayd, blyssed be thou cosyn,
And blyssed be the fruyt of thy body.

¶ Ad primam.
How Jesu chryst ryght poorely borne was,
In an olde oryble,[17] layde all in pouerte:
At Bethleem, by an oxe and an asse,
Where Mary blyssed his natyuite.

¶ Ad tertiam.
How an aungell appered in the morne,
Syngyng Gloria in excelsis deo:
Saynt[18] the veray sone of god is borne,
Ye shepeherdes bedleem ye may go.

¶ Ad sextam.
How thre kynge of straunge nacyons,
Of Chrystes byrth hauyng intellygence,
Unto Bethleem brought theyr oblacyons,
Of golde, of myrre, and frankencence.

¶ Ad nonam.
Symeon at Crystes cyrcumcision,
These wordes unto the iewes dydes tell,
Myn eyen beholdeth your redempcyon,
The lyght and glory of ysraell.

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[17] I have little doubt that this word is meant for *cribbe:* the foreign printers were sadly puzzled occasionally with English words. An edition of the Salisbury prymer, 12mo., printed at Paris by Kerver, 1532, has "oribbe." An Enchiridion of the same printer, 1528, and another by German Hardouyn read "stall." The later prymers after 1540 do not (unless I am mistaken) contain these verses.

[18] Other editions correctly read "sayng."

¶ Ad vesperas.

How Mary and Joseph with Jesu were fayne,
In to Egypt, for socour to fle :
Whan the innocentes for his sake were slayne,
By commyssyon of Herode's cruelte.

¶ Ad completorium.

How mary assumpted was aboue the skyes,
By her sone as souerayne lady :
Receyued there among the ierarchyes,
And crowned her the quene of glory.

Generally, as in this edition, the hours "de cruce" are added,[19] with verses both in Latin and in English; much more to the purpose.

¶ Ad matutinas. De cruce.

How iudas came about ye houre of mydnyght,
To betray Chryst with a grete company:
With glayues: wepons: and moche lyght,
And kyssed hym : sayng, Aue rabbi.

¶ Patris sapientia veritas divina,
Deus homo captus est hora matutina :
A notis discipulis cito derelictus,
A[20] Judeis venditus, traditus, afflictus.

¶ Ad primam.

How Jesu chryst was taken at pryme,
And before Pylate bounden presented :

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[19] "Dominus noster, Jesus Christus, .. matutinalibus a Judæis captus, prima coram Pontio Pilato judice ductus, tertia illusus, corona spinea coronatus, sexta cruci ab ipsis Judæis perfidis conclavatus, nona in cruce pendens, mortuus vespertina de ipsa cruce depositus, et completoria extitit traditus sepulturæ, sicque circa ejus flagellationes, passionem, et ipsius sanctissimi corporis mysterium erat tota expedita dies ipsa." *Constit. de jejunio passionis*, 1351; Concilia, tom. 3. p. 19.

[20] The enchiridions have "et;" the prymer, 1532, "ac."

Whiche in hym founde no maner cryme,
All though that he was scraytly examined.

¶ Hora prima ductus est Jesus ad pilatum,
Falsis testimoniis multum accusatum:
In collo percutiunt, manibus ligatum,
Vultum Dei conspuunt lumen cœli gratum.

¶ Ad tertiam.

How Pylate wenyng to delyuer our lorde,
Unto the people, Ecce homo, sayd he:
But euer they cryed with one accorde,
Tolle, tolle eum, crucifige.

¶ Crucifige clamitant hora tertiarum,
Illusus induitur veste purpurarum:
Caput ejus pungitur corona spinarum,
Crucem portat humeris ad locum pœnarum.

¶ Ad sextam.

At the hour of sext Christ was crucified,
Beaten and nayleth with grete myschefe,
For the soule of man there he dyed,
On eche of his sydes hanged a thefe.

¶ Hora sexta Jesus est cruci conclavatus,
Atque cum latronibus pendens deputatus:
Præ tormentis sitiens felle saturatus,
Agnus crimen diluit sic ludificatus.

¶ Ad nonam.

At the hour of noone Cryst is lyfe lefte,[21]
And to his fader his soule behyght:
Graues opened, the temple veyle clefte,
The erthe shoke, the sonne lost his syght.

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[21] The prymer of 1532 omits the English verses altogether; the enchiridions give here a different stanza:—
"¶ At nyne of the clocke our sauior ful of myght,

¶ Hora nona Dominus Jesus expiravit,
Heli clamans animam patri commendavit:
Latus ejus lancea miles perforauit,
Terra tunc contremuit, et sol obscuravit.

¶ Ad vesperas.
How our lorde at the tyme of euensong,
By Joseph and Nichomede was taken downe:
Layde in his moders lappe streched along,
Whiche for pure sorow fell in a swowne.

¶ De cruce deponitur hora vespertina,
Fortitudo latuit in mente divina:
Talem mortem subiit vitæ medicina,
Heu corona gloriæ jacuit supina.

¶ Ad completorium.
At complyn tyme the body of Jesu,
Was wraped and bounde in a sudary:
Anoynted with bawme, and in a tombe newe,
He was layde by Joseph ab armathy.

¶ Hora completorii datur sepulturæ,
Corpus Christi nobile, spes vitæ futuræ:
Conditur aromate, complentur scripturæ,
Jugi sit memoria mors hæc mihi curæ.

The "recommendation" follows:—

¶ Has horas canonicas cum devotione,
Tibi Criste recolo pia ratione:
Ut sicut tu passus es pœnas in agone,
Sic labori consonans consors sim coronæ.[22]

His spirit unto his father rendryd:
When the sunne lost the clerenes of his lyght,
And the erthe wonderfully tremblyd."

[22] The reader is not to understand that the English verses are intended to be anything but a mere approach to a translation of the Latin; something of the same kind as the poetical (?)

In the edition named (being a prymer in Latin only, with some exceptions as above, and occasional

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version of the psalms by Tate and Brady. The prymer of 1532 attempts (at least) a closer version, which it gives as well as the stanzas in the text. It is sufficiently curious to be inserted here:—

"The englyse of Patris sapientia.

¶ He that is the great profounde sapience,
And dyuyne trewthe of the father on hye:
Whyche for mankynde of hys benevolence,
Hym selfe hath made bothe god and man ioyntely:
Was sold and bought by the Jewys treyterously,
And aboute mydnyght perturbyd and takyn,
And of hys dyssyples anon forsaken.

¶ The furste houre in the mornynge yerly
Unto theyr iuge, callyd pylate, the iewys
Jesu with hys handys bowndyn they cary,
Where many a false wytnes dyd hym accuse:
In the nek they hym smyte, hys body they bruse,
The lyght of heuen, replete wyth all grace.

¶ Aboute thre howres after the sonne gan sprynge,
All the Jewys cry Jesu to crucifye:
And in skorne they clothyd hym wyth purpull clothyng,
And in stede of a crowne on hys hed they tye,
A werthe of thorne, that prykyd cruelly,
And lad hym forth to y (*sic*) place where he dyed,
Wyth a great howge cros on hys shulders leyed.

¶ The syxt houre spryngynge before the myddaye,
Jesu hand and foot to y cros they naylyd:
With the shamfullyst deth y they contryue may,
In dyspyte bytwene two theuys hym hangyd,
When that they thought for payn that he thursted,
Hys thurst for to quench they profferd hym gall:
Thys lamb thus ylludyd bought owr synnes all.

¶ Owre mercyfull lorde Jesu goddys sonne,
Callyng vnto hys fader almyghty,
Yelded up hys soule et (*sic*) sone vppon none,
The spyryte departyd that blessyd body:
The sonne waxed darke, the yerth quoke wondersly,

prayers) this last stanza is not translated: but the prymer of 1543 gives us the following version:—

Greate meruelous thynges to beholde and here,
And yet a knyght percyd hys hert wyth a spere.

¶ The dede body of cryste that blessyd man,
From the crosse was losyd and takyn awaye
At euensonge tyme, but alas where was thanne
Hys crowne of glory et (*sic*) great strenght that daye:
Full preuely wythin the godhed yt laye,
Yet wold he thys cruell deth suffer thus,
The trew medsyn of lyffe to brynge to us.

¶ The hope of owre lyfe euer to indure,
Of Jesu the noble and blessyd bodye
At complyntyme was brought to sepulture,
Spycyd and adournyd fragraunte and swetely:
Of scripture complete was thenne the mystery,
Therfore Jesu graunte me thy woundys tendure,
And thy deth besely styll to remember."

The reader may not object also to see the following English verses, which sometimes occur in the later prymers: they intend to illustrate by the variety of the months the ages of man's life. I quote from the edition of 1538, Rouen, 8vo.:—

"January.
The first vi yeres of mannes byrth and aege,
May well be compared to Ianyuere:
For in thys month is no strength, no courage,
More than in a chylde of the aege of vi yere.

February.
The other vi yeres is lyke February,
In the ende therf begynneth the sprynge,
That tyme chyldren is moost apt and redye,
To receyve chastisement, nurture, and lernynge.

March.
Marche betokeneth the vi yeres folowynge,
Arayeng the erthe wt pleasaunt verdure:
That season youth careth for nothynge,
And without tought dooth hys sporte & pleasure.

Apryll.
The next vi yere maketh foure and twenty,
And figured is to ioly Apryll:
That time of pleasures man hath moost plenty,

O blessed chryst these houres canonycall,
To thee I offer with meke deuocyon:

Fresshe and louynge his lustes to fulfyll.

Maye.

As in the month of Maye all thyng is in myght,
So at xxx yeres man is in chyef lykyng:
Pleasaunt and lusty, to every mannes syght
In beaute and strength, to women pleasyng.

June.

In June all thyng falleth to rypenesse,
And so dooth man at xxxvi yere olde,
And studyeth for to acquyre rychesse,
And taketh a wyfe to kepe his housholde.

July.

At xl yere of aege or elles neuer
Is ony man endewed with wysdome:
For than forthon hys myght fayleth euer,
As in July dooth euery blossome.

August.

The goodes of the erthe is gadred euermore
In August, so at xlviii yere
Man ought to gather some goodes in store,
To susteyne aege that than draweth nere.

Septembre.

Lete no man thynke for to gather plenty
Yf at liiii yere he haue none:
No more than yf his barne were empty
In Septembre, whan all the corne is gone.

Octobre.

By Octobre betokeneth lx yere
That aege hastely dooth man assayle,
Yf he haue ought, than it dooth appere
To lyve quyetly after his trauayle.

Novembre.

Whan man is at lxvi yere olde
Whiche lynkened is to bareyne Nouembre,
He wexeth unweldy, sekely, and colde,
Than his soule helth is tyme to remembre.

Decembre.

The yere bi Decembre taketh his ende,
And so dooth man, at thre score and twelue:
Nature wyth aege wyll hym on message sende,
The tyme is come, that he must go hym selue."

On the opposite pages to these pictures and verses, the calendar is given of each month; beneath which are some more verses, intended to assist the memory with respect to the chief feasts &c. in the month: as for example:—

For us thou hast suffered those paynes all,
In thy greuous agony by lyke reason,
So by the remembraunce of thy passyon,
Make me accordyng to my busynes,
Partaker of thy crowne and glory endles.

"February.
Bryde . ma . ry . gyl . bert . har . de . ly .
All . thy . frendes . stan . dyng . the . by .
And . pray . with . the . to . dyne .
Pe . ter . ma . thy . and . austyne .

June.
In . June . eras . mus . dyde . thynke .
Nor . to . gyve . bar . na . be . drynke .
But . than . bo . tulph . thought . it . me . ter .
That . John . sholde . drynke . be . fore . pe . ter .

Decembre.
Loy . was . bar . ber . to . Ny . coll .
Ma . ry . pray . thou . for . lu . ces . soll .
And . for . grace . pray . good . tho . mas . ynde .
To . christ . steuen . John . chylde . tho . be . kynde ."

On the title-page of the same volume are the following verses:—

"God be in my hede,
And in myn understandynge;
God be in myn eyen,
And in my lokynge;
God be in my mouth,
And in myn spekynge.
God be in my herte,
And in my thynkynge:
God be at myn ende,
And at my departynge."

The horæ and prymers often have short headings to each month, when they contain a calendar: and these occur also in the missals and breviaries: they are intended to give the special characteristic of the month. For example, in the unique copy of the St. Alban's breviary:—

"Pocula Ianus amat:
Et Februus algeo clamat:
Martius arva fodit:
Aprilis florida nutrit:
Ros et flos nemorum Maio sunt fomes amorum:
Dat Iunius fœna:
Iulio resecatur avena:
Augustus spicas:
September conterit uvas:
Seminat October:
Spolia virgulta November:
Quærit habere cibum porcum mactando December."

The illuminations represent the work or amusement of the month.

These subjects are to be found also carved in English churches, on the seats in the cathedral at

In the Bodleian library is a manuscript horæ[23]—which has been incorrectly called a prymer[24]—of the early part of the fourteenth century. It is not quite perfect but possibly never had a calendar, as the royal arms are blazoned on the margin of the first leaf. The illuminations are in the best style and manner of the time, and it is a very interesting volume. But I refer to it because it has a curious version of the hours of the Cross, which (if I remember rightly) is the only portion in English. One extract must suffice:—

"At prime Iesu was ȝlad pilatus byfore,
Many false witnesse on hym were ibore,
Hiis schinnes wer ybeten, hiis honden weren ybonden,
Hiis face bygonne on spete, lyt of heuene ȝey fonde [*sic*].[25]

Some editions of the horæ or prymers contain short offices "of the compassyon of oure Lady." These also connect each hour with a particular sorrow which the blessed Virgin endured during the Passion.

I must not omit upon this subject an account which is occasionally found in the prymers, "¶ Howe the sayenge of the houres fyrste began, and why they are so called." I quote from an edition printed at Rouen by Le Roux, 1538, 8vo.:—

"The fyrst that euer we fynde in scripture to

Worcester, and on the roof at Salisbury.

[23] MS. miscell. 104.

[24] The "prymer" is essentially an English word and, as it seems to me, should not be given as a title to a book of hours or other prayers, because it happens to contain a few prayers or hymns in English. The Prymer was a complete book; either with or without a Latin text accompanying it.

[25] fol. 61.

haue used the worshyppynge of god, at certeyne set houres of the daye, was Daniel the prophete, as it appered in his .vi. chapi. And in the newe testament in the actes of the apostles the .x. chapitre, we rede, that saynt Peter thapostle accustomed hym selfe to certayn houres of prayer. By whiche examples (as saynt Cypriane testefied) the catholyke church of Chryste did fyrst receyue and admyt suche maner of prayeing. Whereupon the same usuall seruice that we call (pryme and houres) was fyrste instituted to be sayde and songen here in the Churches of Englande, accordyng to the custome and vse of the diocese, somewhere after the vse of *Sarum*, and somwhere after the vse of *Yorke*. And therfore whan we rede hora prima, tertia, sexta, and nona, that is, the fyrste, the thyrde, the sixte, and the nynth houre, euyn as they make mention of seuerall houres, so were they and may be vsed at seuerall tymes of the daye, to be sayde in remembrance of Christes passion, and the compassion of the virgin his moder."

These daily offices were called hours, either "ab orando, nam ora idem videtur esse ac hora," or rather because they were to be recited at certain hours of the day appointed by the Church. Canonical, because according to the canon or rule of the Church. Some add, because they are the prayers to be said by canons in choir, or because canonical simply means ecclesiastical.[26]

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[26] *Gavantus*, Thesaurus, tom. 2. cap. 1.

CHAPTER II.

THE earliest mention of the word Breviary to denote the book containing the Divine office is to be found in Micrologus, the author of which treatise flourished about the year 1080. He is speaking "de officiis jejuniorum," and alluding to the gospel *Egressus Jesus* adds "sicut etiam in antiquis breviariis ordinatum reperimus."[27] A manuscript was some years ago preserved in the monastery of Casino entitled Breviarium, written about A.D. 1100. But it seems rather to have been an ordinale, from the description given by Zaccaria.[28] However this may be, we cannot doubt that we are to understand

[27] Cap. 28. cit. *Gavantus*, tom. 2. § 2. 1. He does not give the passage. This tract "Micrologus" *de ecclesiasticis observationibus* is especially valuable. The first edition of any part of it was by Cochlæus in his *Speculum antiquæ devotionis de missa;* soon afterwards entire by Pamelius, then the first twenty-two chapters by Cassander, and again the whole by Hittorpius in the auctarium to the bibl. patrum. Cassander, opera, p. 121, speaks in the most contemptuous terms of the first edition, as being from an incorrect manuscript. His judgment is to be listened to, for there can be no doubt that Cochlæus himself deserved the commendation which Hittorpius gives him, in his preface to another work, "vir eruditissimus, et diligens ecclesiasticæ antiquitatis scrutator," and again, "doctoris Cochlæi judicium, quod fuit exactissimum." *Auct. bibl. patr.* tom. 1. p. 1166.

[28] He says that it contains "totius ecclesiastici officii rubricas, ritus etiam, et cæremonias tam officii recitandi, quam missæ celebrandæ, ac præterea peculiares quasdam præcipuarum solemnitatum observantias. Unde Quesnellus a Cangio laudatus colligi posse censebat, primitus breviarii nomine solas rubricas, seu ordinem officiorum olim innotuisse." *Zaccaria*, bibl. ritualis, tom. 1. 107. If the conjecture in the text is right, the evident error of Quesnel is shewn to rest upon a mistaken title.

by the title, as used by Micrologus, an abbreviation as well as an amended arrangement of the more ancient offices. And this abbreviation was chiefly made by the authority of pope Gregory the seventh.

We need scarcely be reminded that during 1500 years the public worship of the western Church must have occupied at various periods the attention of her rulers. It does not fall in with my plan in these volumes to detail the changes which were made: they are well told in Merati's additions to the *Thesaurus* of Gavantus,[29] to which I would refer the student. He will be struck with one circumstance: that through so many ages and in spite of so many old customs given up and new customs introduced, as nation after nation was converted to the true faith, yet the same general character was retained and the same spirit breathed through the long line of the authorised offices of the Church. This is the more remarkable in the case of important particulars, which one could not have supposed would have stood the violent assaults of her enemies or the more insidious attacks of heretics and false friends. Nor would it have been so, if the power by which the Church was always guided had not been that of the Spirit of God.

The last settlement of the breviary may be mentioned. This was under the pontificate of Pius the fifth, and his bull, dated July 1568, is that by which the present daily office of the Roman Catholic Church is authorised and enforced. For the succeeding

[29] Tom. 2. p. 11. And more at length, *Zaccaria*, bibl. ritualis, lib. 1. cap. iv. art. 4.

bulls of popes Clement viij. and Urban viij. affect the correctness of the editions and the licensing of the printers. The chief points of the bull of pope Pius are that the edition of the breviary which it sanctioned had been undertaken in consequence of the great variety of uses at that time existing; it recites the decree of the council of Trent, which had referred the consideration of the matter to the college of sacred rites at Rome: it abolishes the use of the breviary arranged some few years before by cardinal Quignonius: and not only that but all other breviaries which could not prove a prescription of two hundred years: it decrees that no alteration should be made in the worship and service now appointed: and imposes the observance of the newly-arranged and amended book upon all who were bound to say the canonical hours. Hence the power which previously had been permitted to the bishops of each diocese, to alter and correct or to add to the services of their particular churches, was restrained and made subject to dispensations from the holy see. I must not omit to add that one of the chief persons to whom this whole business was referred had been the bishop of an English diocese, Thomas Goldwell of St. Asaph.

The exception in favour of such breviaries as had been in use for two hundred years, if there had been no suppression of the old rituals—a suppression which was gradually supplied by the use of Roman service-books by missionary priests from the reign of Elizabeth—would have reached the breviaries of Salisbury or York or Hereford. I shall now give as short an account as possible of the usual contents of the breviary "ad usum Sarum." We

will take for an example an edition in two volumes, 4to. 1555.[30]

The first volume opens with a calendar, followed by a table of the moveable feasts. After this a short tract on the value and efficacy of the book of psalms, directions how properly to say the hours, and the office of the benediction "salis et aquæ." All this is preliminary matter, occupying one sheet. Upon fol. j. sign. A. i. the breviary itself begins: "In nomine sanctæ et individuæ Trinitatis. ℭ Incipit ordo breuiarii seu portiforii secundum morem et consuetudinem ecclesiæ Sarum Anglicanæ: una cum ordinali suo: quod usitato vocabulo dicitur *Pica* sive directorium sacerdotum. In tempore paschali. ℭ Pars hyemalis." Then follow the dominical and ferial offices from Advent sunday to the Friday after pentecost, inclusive; with those of some of the greater festivals of saints, the Innocents' day, St. Stephen, St. Thomas of Canterbury, and a few others. To this first part of the volume succeed, with a new set of signatures and foliation, 1st, the psalter, which was gone through once a week: 2nd, the seven penitential psalms: 3rd, the litany: 4th, the vigils of the dead: 5th, the common offices of apostles, confessors, virgins, &c.: 6th, the offices of the blessed Virgin, of the dedication of a church, benedictions "ad lectiones," the ordinary and canon of the mass, some votive masses, the mass of requiem, and some occasional masses. A long "tabula de festorum

30 "Portiforium seu breviarium ad insignis Sarisburiensis ecclesiæ usum: accuratissime castigatum, cum multis annotatiunculis ac literis alphabeticis, evangeliorum et epistolarum, capitulorumque originem indicantibus: quæ nusquam hucusque fuerunt additæ." Two vols. 4to. London, 1555.

divisione" concludes this part. A new set of signatures begins the third part, which is occupied entirely with the proper offices of saints during this half of the year; beginning with the xxixth of November, the vigil of St. Andrew, and ending with the xviijth of June, SS. Marcus & Marcellianus.

The second volume repeats the first sheet and its contents as described above: upon A. i. "In festo sanctæ Trinitatis. Sarisburiensis portiforii nuperrime exactissimeque revisi volumen secundum, pars vocari solita estivalis." And the dominical offices follow up to the twenty-fifth sunday after Trinity inclusive. The whole of the second part, above described, is repeated, but in the present edition this second volume has a title-page, "Psalterium Davidicum ad verum Sarisburiensis ecclesiæ usum: presbyteris omnibus per punctuationes ad limam distinctum, utile atque accommodum," above a woodcut of the root of Jesse. The third part is the "proprium de sanctis tempore estivali," beginning with St. Dunstan, xixth of May, and ending with xixth of November, SS. Saturninus and Sisinnius. A few rules as to the greater festivals and sundays conclude the volume.[21]

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[21] The Sarum breviary is now being printed for the university of Cambridge, from the edition by Chevallon in 1531. This volume is one of the noblest of the old printed Sarum books: a large folio with double columns. It is a fit companion for the equally grand books, the gradual of 1532 and the antiphoner of 1520. Copies of the three books are in the British museum. A copy of the Chevallon breviary is in the library at Lambeth.

The York breviary is also in the course of publication, being very carefully edited by the Hon. and Rev. S. W. Lawley. This is printed from the Venice edition of 1493 in the Bodleian. No folio edition of the York breviary is known to exist.

I have the rather selected the above edition, first because it was printed in England, and secondly, it is in two volumes. The Sarum breviaries in two volumes are always so arranged with a few trivial exceptions, and as odd volumes occasionally are to be met with the student will be the better able to judge how far his copy may be deficient. Sometimes one part only of a volume may occur: for example, the temporale or the sanctorale, or the psalter. These (as has been seen) beginning with fresh signatures and foliation may be mistaken for perfect books: the error must be guarded against; but it need scarcely be added that no fragments of such important books are to be neglected. The difference of arrangement in editions of one volume consists in there being but one psalter, placed between the end of the temporale and the beginning of the sanctorale.

The directions (in the breviary above described) how to say properly the canonical hours do not commonly occur: I shall therefore transcribe them, as being intimately connected with our subject:—

"¶ De horis canonicis attende diligenter. Cum igitur beneficiatus omnis, aut in ordinibus sacris constitutus, juxta determinationem ecclesiæ teneatur dicere horas canonicas septem: advertat quod in primis animum suum præparet, vanos cogitatus prorsus abjiciendo. Inter orandum; colloquia, risus et jocos non admisceat: avibus, canibus, bestiis non intendat: locum devotioni aptum eligat, omnique impedimento vacuum: non gratia humanæ laudis accedat, sed recta et bona intentione. Intendens Dei laudem; officii satisfactionem; meriti augmentum; benefactorum suffragium.

¶ Initiando denique muniat se signo sanctæ crucis: præmittens orationem dominicam cum salutatione angelica, ut divina assistat gratia qua mens in laudem Dei devotius elevetur: ac obsequium illud creatori acceptabilius reddatur.

¶ Legamus igitur, fratres carissimi, canonicas horas integraliter cum cordis attentione. Affectualiter, cum mentis devotione. Integraliter, cum distincta oris expressione. Venerabiliter, cum gestu corporis et animæ. Congruenter, locis et horis statutis.

¶ Psallentibus namque, sicut sanctus dicit Bernardus super cantica, dignantur admisceri angeli sancti: ea propter eorum debemus attendere præsentiam, cum stamus adorandum et psallendum: et stare cum omni reverentia et disciplina, et hos crebrius attendere versus. Cum Domino psalles, psallendo tu tria serves. Dirige cor sursum, profer bene, respice sensum. Tunc orantur horæ, cum corde leguntur et ore. Auscultando cane, simul incipe, desine plane.

¶ Is profecto qui horas canonicas dicit devote, copiosius a Deo præmiabitur: in tribulationibus suis consolabitur: a periculis preservabitur: gratiam Dei ampliorem obtinebit et gloriam: conscientiam suam alleviat: tributum Deo solvit et debitum. Servitus quippe clericorum est, quotidie septem horarum servitia persolvere. Illi nimirum angeli Dei erunt familiares amici et custodes, et quæque illius opera erunt extunc Deo acceptiora, plus sibi meritoria, et vivis defunctisque utiliora. Has denique orationes Deus citius et libentius exaudit quam alias privatas."

These directions were, be it remembered, a repetition only of the numerous decisions of the canonists as to the careful and attentive recital of the

offices of the breviary. People have been apt to think that a mere saying, however hurried and formal, of the daily services was held to be sufficient. Nothing can be farther from the truth. No less before the middle of the sixteenth century than after it the Church was anxious to impress upon the minds of both her clergy and her people the absolute necessity of earnest devotion; a worshipping not with the mouth only, but the heart also. "Qui non attendit ad verba, vel ad sensum verborum, vel ad finem in oratione propositum, peccat." "Qui voluntarie distractus, alia faciens, quæ attentionem impediant, peccat." "Qui tantum legit preces horarias, et non orat, minime satisfacit." These, and such as these, are among the decisions of her doctors on the point; and there is a remarkable decree of the council of Basle by which they are enforced. It is the iijrd of the 21st session. "Si quis" it asks "principem sæculi rogaturus, habitu honesto, gestu decenti, prolatione non præcipiti, sed distincta, attenta quoque mente, seipsum ac verba studet componere, quanto diligentius in sacro loco omnipotentem oraturus Deum, hæc omnino facere curare debet? Statuit igitur sancta synodus, ut in cunctis cathedralibus ac collegiatis ecclesiis, horis debitis, laudes divinæ per singulas horas non cursim ac festinanter, sed sedatim[32] ac tractim, et cum pausa decenti, præsertim in medio cujuslibet versiculi psalmorum, debitam faciendo inter solenne ac feriale officium differentiam, reverenter ab omnibus persolvantur." And again, the fifth of the same session

[32] The text reads *asiatim*: the margin *adeatim*, and proposes *sedatim*.

upon private prayer: "Quoscunque etiam alibi beneficiatos, seu in sacris constitutos, cum ad horas canonicas teneantur, admonet hæc sancta synodus, si orationes suas Deo acceptas fore cupiunt, ut non syncopando dictiones, nec colloquia vel risus intermiscendo, sed sive soli, sive associati, diurnum nocturnumque officium reverenter verbisque distinctis peragant: ac tali in loco, unde a devotione non retrahantur, ad quam se disponere et præparare debent, juxta id quod scriptum est, 'ante orationem præpara animam tuam, ne sis quasi qui tentat Deum.'"[33] Lyndwood has many observations upon this duty. Take for example his note upon a constitution of archbishop Winchelsey, on the word *psalmodizantes:* "Diligenter attendendum est, ut magis corde quam voce cantent."[34] And again, some hundred years earlier, the sharp rebuke and admonition of the synod of Worcester under bishop Cantilupe: "Sunt enim quidam, quod dolentes referimus, qui continua syncopa, secundum quod legitur in concilio generali, proferunt matutinas; quos, quia maledictus est qui facit opus Dei negligenter, ad hoc volumus coerceri."[35] And, once more, for

[33] Concil. Labbe et Cossart, tom. xij. col. 553.

[34] Lib. 1. tit. 15. *Presbyteri.*

[35] *Wilkins*, Concilia, tom. 1. 667. Compare also *synodus Exoniensis*, cap. xxi; ibid. tom. 2. 144; and tom. 2. 245, statutes of Winchelsey: "Item psalmodia in choro distincte et aperte dicatur. Et constituantur, &c.;" and tom. 3. 674, constit. Ebor.: "Qui autem cantant, distincte proferant et aperte, non transiliendo, vel transcurrendo, vel syncopando, sed cum debita reverentia, ut ad devotionem excitent animos auditorum."

To the same effect we find care taken by the founders of religious houses in their charters of foundation. For example: "Superpelliciis et aumuciis induti, matutinas ad [*et?*] horas canonicas, juxta institutionem

the sake of the last few words of the quotation: "In ecclesia quoque divinum officium integre fiat devote...ne, quod absit, pro hostia viva et integra offeratur hostia mutilata et mortua."[36]

Nor were these the laws of the English Church only in the middle and later ages: from her earliest existence, of which any annals remain, we are taught the same thing. The 2nd of the excerpts of archbishop Egbert is, "ut omnes sacerdotes horis competentibus diei et noctis suarum sonent ecclesiarum signa, et sacra tunc Deo celebrent officia: et populos erudiant, quomodo aut quibus Deus adorandus est horis."[37] The vijth canon of the council of Calchuith insists "ut omnes ecclesiæ publicæ canonicis horis cursum suum cum reverentia habeant."[38] The xlvth of the canons enacted under king Edgar is, "Docemus etiam, ut justo stato tempore campana pulsetur, et sacerdos quilibet cantum suum horarium in ecclesia psallat, et ibi cum Dei timore sedulo oret, et pro omni populo intercedat."[39] And once more, the 31st chapter of Ælfric's pastoral epistle directs "the seven canonical hours to be sung with great attention, to the praise of the Lord."[40]

Many such examples might be collected. The above will be sufficient to correct in some degree that overweening pride in the supposed spiritual advantages of modern times which not seldom leads

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ecclesiasticam de die tractatim punctando, et aperta pronunciatione dicant." *Dugdale*, Mon. Anglic. vol. vj. p. 705 (Hospital of Elsing Spital, London).

[36] From the statutes of a synod at Norwich, in 1257. Concil. tom. 1. p. 732.

[37] *Wilkins*, Concilia, tom. 1. 102.

[38] Ibid. p. 147, A.D. 785.

[39] Ibid. p. 228.

[40] *Thorpe*, Ancient laws and institutes of England, vol. 2. p. 377. See also pp. 78, 255.

men of various religious sects to assert that there was for centuries in the church of England only the "form of godliness without the power;" only the appearance of religion even if there was that; only the shadow of prayer and not the substance.[41]

The saying of the Divine office anciently was obligatory[42] upon all who were in holy orders; some

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[41] "Therefore they erre greatly," says an author of the fifteenth century, "that hastely and reckelessly say these holy houres, for haste of other besynes, or of other prayers. They are also blamefull that of theyr owne wyll medel other prayers, as yf any wolde say a lesson or a response by hymselfe, or say other prayers, or entende to other thinges. . . . The sede of these holy houres oughte to be sowen in the fylde of oure soulles, in theyr own tyme by themselfe." *The Myroure of oure Ladye*, fol. vij.

Again, in another place: "For yt ys so greate parel to leue ought of thys holy seruyce, as ys before sayde, therefore all that are bounde therto oughte not only to acustome theyre harte to haue mynde theron, but also to vse theyr tongue to say yt tretably and dystynctely, wythout faylyng or ouerskyppynge of worde or sylable." And he goes on to compare the right saying of the divine office to correct playing upon a harp; fol. xxiv.

It would seem that in some monasteries, as time went on, the office was too much lengthened by additional prayers and psalms. Nicholas, abbot of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, issued an order "de abbreviatione divini servitii," in the year 1283. *Chron. W. Thorn.* p. 1936.

[42] Obligatory, not by the divine but by the ecclesiastical law which only in a secondary view, as a channel, claims to be divine. I cannot resist adding here some observations of Mabillon: "Parum interest, quo jure primum inducta sit hæc breviarii recitandi obligatio, lege an consuetudine: cum legitimo fundamento innitatur, scilicet præcepto generali, quo Christiani omnes ad jugem precationem tenentur: et speciali Dei ministrorum conditione, qui totos sese divino cultui mancipa runt. Is enim divinum et apostolicum de indesinente oratione præceptum implere censetur, 'qui canonicis horis quotidie, juxta ritum ecclesiasticæ traditionis, psalmodiis precibusque consuetis Deum laudare et rogare non desistit,' ut ait Beda. Sunt quidem et alia non minoris momenti sacrorum ministrorum officia et onera: neque ad hoc unum eis assignati sunt tam copiosi eccle-

writers include even the minor orders, others those only who had been ordained sub-deacons: in monasteries all men who were professed, and women according to the rules and statutes of their order. Lyndwood has a gloss upon a constitution of archbishop Stephen Langton, in which he inclines to the obligation including the minor orders: but with a difference. There can be no doubt (he says) about those "qui sunt constituti in sacris," although they are not beneficed; they are strictly bound to say the canonical hours: but those who, although beneficed, are only "in minoribus" may be excused for some reasonable cause, say for study or if engaged in public affairs, from attendance in church; but in both these cases they were to provide for the public duty of their benefice, and in the latter, to say the hours in private or on their journeys.[48]

Beneficed priests and all curates were strictly enjoined to say the office on sundays and on all feasts

siæ proventus, quasi recitato semel breviario, muneris sui summam statim expleverint. Quædam quippe alia ab ecclesiasticis viris exiguntur, lectio et studium sanctarum Scripturarum et sacræ traditionis, divini verbi prædicatio, caritatis officia, aliaque id genus exercitia virtutis. Hæc oportet facere, sed pias etiam precationes non omittere." *De lit. gallicana*, p. 437.

[48] Lib. iij. tit. 23. *Ad excitandos.* Grancolas in the twelfth chapter of his commentary on the Roman breviary (1734) gives an account of the morning and evening prayers appointed to be said in the reformed Common prayer book. He concludes thus: "Presbyteri hæc omnia in templis decantant per anni cursum, superpelliceo, pluviali, et casulis induti" (p. 26). A former possessor of the copy from which I quote has written on the margin, "minime quidem cum pluviali et casulis." With the brief remark that the very learned author was probably altogether wrong in his assertion, the solution of the difficulty must be left to those who are interested in the question.

in their churches. "Statutum est" is the order of one council in 1453 "quod ministri ecclesiarum omnibus diebus dominicis, et aliis festivitatibus horas canonicas in suis ecclesiis ordinate dicunt, et aliis diebus quando valeant, et tamen præmissa trina campanarum pulsatione: quibus diebus dominicis, et festis per ecclesiam publicatis, cessent omnes populi christiani, clerici et laici, ab omni opere servili, et ad officia divina audienda conveniant, sub pœna excommunicationis."

The laity (as in the canon just quoted) were frequently and strongly urged to be present. Very early writers, St. Basil,[44] St. Chrysostom,[45] St. Ambrose,[46] and St. Augustine,[47] all speak of this important duty and press the fulfilling of it: and in succeeding ages we find frequent exhortations to the same purpose.[48] It is indeed certain that the Divine office was not instituted solely for the clergy, but for all men who claimed to be Christians. Hence there were so many canons of the western Church calling on all parishioners to attend the daily prayers, some on every day, some on sundays, and others on the festivals.[49] Lyndwood, for the English church, speaks plainly upon the point. A constitution of archbishop Winchelsey decrees "ut presbyteri infra nostram provinciam celebrantes intersint in cancello in matutinis, vesperis, et aliis Divinis officiis,[50] de-

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44 Ep. 207.

45 Hom. 30. in 1. ad Corinth.

46 In psal. cxviii.

47 Lib. ix. conf. cap. 7.

48 Rupert the abbot writes in the eleventh century: "Septem canonicas horas diei non licet a quoquam, qui in conspectu Dei vacuus et ingratus apparere nolit, negligenter præteriri." *De div. off.*, lib. 1. cap. 1.

49 Compare *Azevedo*, de div. off. exercit. vij.

50 This does not include the "missa de die." Had the words been canonicis officiis, they would

bitis horis," &c. And the gloss explains "hora competens" to be that when the attendance of the people may be expected, though not always perhaps to be hoped for. This of course to be so arranged, that the hours of the office might as much as possible correspond to the hours of the day.[51] A constitution of Otho "de archidiaconis" imposes as a part of the enquiries in their visitations, "qualiter diurnis et nocturnis officiis ecclesiæ serviatur."

Again, an incidental notice to the same effect is among the constitutions of bishop Kirkham of Durham, A.D. 1255: "Provideant rectores... ne passim laici sedeant et stent in cancello, dum divina officia celebrantur, nisi forsan patroni aut alia venerabilis persona ad hoc ob reverentiam admittatur."[52] In the same century a very important body of canons was agreed upon at a synod held under bishop Quivil at Exeter, in the 21st chapter of which occurs a passage so much to the point that I shall quote it entire: "Præterea audivimus quandoque quod presbyteri, quanquam fuerint absentes tanquam præsentes essent, ad horas canonicas faciunt campanas pulsari: quarum sonitu populus excitatus, dum ad

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have done so. To say mass was of the canonical office, but not of the canonical hours. Cf. gloss. *verb.* canon. off. lib. iij. tit. 23. *Sacerdotes caveant.*

[51] Lib. iij. tit. 23. *Presbyteri.* Cf. also Angelo Rocca, *De campanis.* "Septem illæ horæ canonicæ, ad quas recitandas clerus convocatur et populus ad easdem, atque ad conciones audiendas per campanarum pulsum invitatur." Opera, tom. 1. 177. The 36th law of the Northumbrian priests imposes a penalty on every priest who neglects to ring the bell at the appointed times. *Wilkins*, Concilia, tom. 1. 219. The student who wishes to examine the subject of bells, their introduction and use, will find it fully discussed by *Angelo Rocca*, opera, tom. 1., and more briefly by *Asevedo*, de div. off. exerc. iv.

[52] *Wilkins*, Concilia, tom. 1. p. 707.

ecclesiam divinum officium audiendi et orandi causa accedit, presbyterum non inveniens, a clerico præsente ubi sit (inquirunt) et responsum accipiunt: 'Non est hic, jam recessit:' et sic parochiani illusi recedunt, et ecclesia debitis defraudatur obsequiis. Hanc fraudem evellere cupientes, statuimus."[53]

There can be no doubt whatever that before the reformation lay people were accustomed to go to their parish church to hear matins and evensong upon sundays and holy days, and (where they had the opportunity) also on common days. The canon of bishop Quivil, just quoted, is clear upon this point: and there are frequent illustrations of the usual practice in mediæval books. Take the following, from the middle of the fourteenth century:—

"For holy churche hoteth alle manere puple,
Under obedience to bee, and buxum to the lawe,
Lewede men to labore, lordes to honte,
And up on sonedays to cesse, Godes seruyce to huyre,
Both matyns and messe, and after mete in churches
To huyre here eve-song, euery man ouhte."[54]

And a few lines after:—

"Wher see we hem on sonedayes, the seruice to huyre,
As matyns by the morwe tyl masse bygynne,
Other sonedays at evesonge."

If any one in holy orders was staying in a place

[53] *Wilkins*, Concilia, tom. 2. p. 144. A copy of a licence from archbishop Arundell, in 1411, to the parishioners of Wymondham, granting permission to build a bell-tower, is printed in the Archæologia. The reason given is that, because of the want of bells, the people often miss mass and other divine offices. Strict injunctions are added against ringing at hours which might be a disturbance to the monks of the neighbouring abbey; with the additional caution that the bells are to be rung only at such times as is usual in the neighbouring parish churches. Vol. 26. p. 297.

[54] Piers Plowman.

away from home he was, not like the laity merely advised but, bound to attend the saying of matins and the other offices in the church. A Worcester canon under bishop Cantilupe orders "ut omnes capellani qui in una parochia commorantur, simul intersint et conveniant matutinis et vesperis, et aliis horis canonicis, in ecclesiis," &c.[55]

It is not necessary to accumulate canons and exhortations upon this point: take two only, one from the laws of the Northumbrian priests in the middle of the tenth century: "Si presbyter temporibus constitutis non pulset vices, nec horas cantet, hoc compenset."[56] Another, about the same date, from canons in the reign of king Edgar: "Docemus etiam, ut justo stato tempore campana pulsetur, et sacerdos quilibet cantum suum horarium in ecclesia psallat."[57]

CHAPTER III.

IF, as I have before said, it had been intended to supply any portion of the present volumes from the breviary itself, many pages might have been filled with much interesting and important matter: but the full offices of the breviary or extracts from them, and the variations of the different uses, open far too extensive a range of enquiry to be entered on except as the subject of a separate work. The observations which have been made bear not only upon the breviary but upon the remarkable volume which I am about to submit to

[55] Concil. tom. 1. p. 668; cf. tom. 2. p. 281.

[56] Concil. tom. 1. p. 219.

[57] Ibid. p. 228.

the reader: and I shall proceed now to an explanation and description of it.

I have called it "The Prymer in English." The original manuscript from which it is edited is in my possession [1846].[58] There is no title, as may readily be supposed. It is lettered on the binding, apparently of some sixty or eighty years ago, "Hours of Virgin Mary." But this title neither expresses fully the contents, nor is agreeable to the custom of the sixteenth century as regarded printed books of the same class.

The Latin editions of the horæ do not use, in any way, the term Prymer. Their titles usually run, "Horæ beatæ Mariæ virginis ad usum ecclesiæ Sarum:" or "Horæ præsentes ad usum Sarum impressæ fuerunt," &c.:[59] although they contain not only the hours, but various other offices, the penitential psalms, dirge, &c. But when different parts of these books were translated into English and English treatises added and occasional prayers, such for example as the "xv oos," the title was "This prymer of Salysbury vse;" or "The prymer both in Englyshe and Latin," or "The prymer set forth by ye kinges maieste," or "The prymer in Englysshe," or again, late in queen Mary's time, "The Prymer in Englishe and Latine, set out along, after the use of Sarum."[60]

The manuscript is in size what we should now call a small quarto: upon vellum: of lxxvij folios

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[58] Now in the British museum.

[59] As in the editions, 1531, 4to., by Christoph. Ruremund: and 1507, 8vo., by Simon Vostre.

[60] As in the editions, 1527, 12mo., by Kerver: 1540, 8vo., Grafton and Whitchurch: 1545, 4to., Grafton: and 1557, 4to., Kingston and Sutton.

besides one additional, originally blank, on which in a later hand is written a long English prayer to our blessed Saviour. A calendar is not given: certainly there may have been one; but to such a book it was not necessary, and two blank leaves of vellum are still left at the beginning, between which and the first leaf of the text nothing appears to have been torn away.

I have not been able to find [1846] any volume of the same kind, of any date, in the library of the British museum: at Oxford, in the Bodleian, are four, three of which (*Douce* 246 and 275, and *Bodley* 85) are probably only a few years later than the one now printed; the other (*Rawlinson* 699) certainly at least thirty years later. Of these the *Douce* MS. 275 and *Rawlinson* are imperfect. I suppose the present manuscript to be not later than the year 1410. In this I have been confirmed by the judgment and far greater experience of the librarians of the Bodleian. The two *Douce* manuscripts just mentioned were written somewhere about 1420: the *Rawlinson* copy not earlier than 1460. Cambridge has the good fortune to possess two of these early English prymers: one in the university library, of about the date 1430 or rather later. This is the least well-written of all that I have seen. The vellum is rough, and the scription careless: and the illuminated or initial letters are ill executed. The other is in the library of Emanuel college, and is by far the most beautiful of all the copies. There are rich borders to several pages, and the initials are in the best and richest style of the art of that day. The size also is a large 4to., whereas all the others, except one immediately to be men-

tioned, are small 4to. or modern 8vo. This manuscript (again) appears to be of about the same date with the copy now edited: and as it is not earlier, a fact which is clear from the identity of the character and ornaments of both, I might almost be justified in dating my own manuscript as far back as the latter part of the fourteenth century. For in the calendar of the Emanuel copy are two entries, neither of them likely to have been written except about the time of their occurrence. One upon the 21st of May, "There was ye erthe quake y^e^ ȝeer of oure lord .m. ccc. lxxxij." The other on the 16th of July, "king Richard was crowned y^e^ ȝeer of oure lord .m. ccc. lxxvij." These are moreover in a contemporary hand.

The only other MS. English prymer which I have been able to find is also in my possession [1846].[61] This manuscript is like the rest upon vellum, of about the year 1430, and in size is a 12mo. The writing is small, with the rubrics in red; there are initial letters but none illuminated.[62]

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[61] Now in the British museum library.

[62] Since the publication of the first edition of this book I have seen two other manuscript prymers: one is in the library of Queen's college, Oxford, imperfect, of about the year 1420. (S. 20 in arch.) Another was in the Ashmolean, No. 1288, but now in the Bodleian library. Besides these, another (imperfect) has been added to the British museum, Add. MS. 27592. There are some remarkable variations of translation in this manuscript; and a few of them (for my space will allow no more) will be seen in the notes below. We may hope that some day an edition of these prymers will be published, giving us the four best in parallel columns and the chief variations in the others. I may add that the three Bodleian manuscripts (Douce 246, 275, and Bodley 85) give the same vigorous translation of the xj^th^ verse of the

It is a curious circumstance that the Bodleian and the Cambridge copies all agree in having the hours of the cross (see p. x, &c.) translated into rhyme: but on the contrary both the manuscripts in my possession give a prose version, the same in each.[63]

There are therefore known altogether at least eight or ten copies extant in manuscript of the Prymer in English: and I think that I may venture to assert, after a careful comparison and examination, that the reader has here offered to him an edition from the earliest copy of them all. We will now return to the description of it.

Upon the reverse of the last leaf is the following memorandum: most probably by the person for whom it was executed, the writing being of the period: "Iste liber constat Domino Willm̃o Ho.. Millitt. In Bocklande." Beneath this is drawn in rude outline the Lamb and flag, under which is written "Ecce agnus dei q. t. p. m." (*Qui tollit peccata mundi*). It is to be regretted that the most important part of this entry, the latter half of the

51st psalm as that printed below, p. 88, note 54.

A friend tells me that an English prymer is in St. John's college library at Cambridge; and another in the Hunterian museum at Glasgow. Whether perfect or imperfect I do not know.

[63] Another remarkable instance of agreement in these two MSS. is the use of the very uncommon word "cornmuse." See below, p. 25. "Herie thei his name in a cornmuse;" and the note. As I there state, another translation of the Latin is given in all the Bodleian copies and in that of Cambridge university. To these may now be added the manuscript in the library of Emanuel college, which reads, "Preise thei his name in crowde and tabour:" and again, in the succeeding psalm, "Preise ye him in tabour and crowde." But the 12mo. MS. has, "Herie thei his name in a cornmuse;" and again, "Herie ye him in a tympan and cornmuse."

owner's sirname, has been erased: and this not wilfully but accidentally, owing to a fold in the vellum. The name was of four or five letters only; something like Ho*wys* may still be traced. Another memorandum occurs on the first of the two blank leaves at the beginning. "This booke I founde amoungest my fatheres, and was his 1592. And this wrytten by mee the 20th day of January 1595, 38th Eliz. Reg.—Pe. Fanwood."

An imperfection, the only one in the volume, occurs on fol. xliv. The lower part of the leaf has been torn off; so that about five lines of both pages are missing. As it happens, on each side there is the whole of a short prayer: on the one, *Omnipotens sempiterne Deus;* on the other, *Ecclesiæ tuæ.*

In the text (pp. 111, 113) the reader will find these two collects supplied, one from the *Douce* MS. 246, in the Bodleian, the other from a copy of a printed prymer of 1538. None of the other six manuscripts which I had examined whilst preparing the first edition of these volumes for the press contained the collect, "Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui facis:" but the small 12mo. manuscript (just spoken of), which came into my hands soon afterwards, fortunately has this particular prayer, though in some other respects the litanies of my two copies differ.[1] I am glad therefore to be now enabled to give so early a translation of this collect. The reader will see that it is quite different from the version of the prymer of 1538:—

"*Oratio. Omnipotens sempiterne Deus.* Almyghti god, euerlastynge, that aloone doost many wondres, schewe the spirit of heelful grace vpon bisschopes thi seruauntis, and vpon alle the congregacion betake

to hem: and ȝeete in[64] the dewe of thi blessynge that thei plese euermore to the in trouthe. Bi crist oure lord. So be it."

Not only therefore has the reader now before him an edition of the earliest known prymer in English, but there is an interval of more than a hundred and thirty years between it and any other which has been reprinted in modern times. I allude to the Goodly Prymer of 1535, which is the first of the three published in one volume by the late Dr. Burton.

Dr. Burton was a man who is generally understood to have been learned and industrious; and certainly I am not called upon to dispute it. But it is impossible to say that the preface to his "Three prymers"[65] shows much evidence of either quality, whether learning or industry. I very much doubt whether any one can understand what the object of the preface is, or obtain from it clear information about the prymers which follow.[66]

Nor is this to be wondered at when the editor himself had formed this notion of a prymer, that "it was not confined to any one definite set of prayers, but contained different selections, according to the choice of the compiler; though the Creed, Pater Noster, and Ave Maria, held always a prominent place in the prymers."[67] Now, all the prymers that

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[64] Infunde. "Rorem tuæ benedictionis infunde."

[65] Three prymers put forth in the reign of Henry viij, viz. i. A goodly prymer, 1535. ii. The manual of prayers or the prymer in English, 1539. iii. King Henry's primer, 1545. Oxford, 1834.

[66] It may not be an injustice to suspect that Dr. Burton did not even take the trouble to read the book through which he undertook to edit. See below, p. 65, note.

[67] Pref. p. 1. I must not pass

I have seen, which in any way rested upon authority, do contain a definite set of prayers: they have the hours, the dirge, the seven and the fifteen psalms, the litany, commendations, and other prayers.

These may not always be in the same order though they usually are; and some may contain more occasional prayers and offices than others; but still, they have all a plain and certain character. Before we open a prymer of the first half of the sixteenth century we may rightly anticipate what its contents generally are: and the creed, Pater noster, and Ave, can no more be said to be prominent than any of the portions mentioned just above. Two of the so-called prymers edited by Dr. Burton were compiled by private men. Not only they were not of authority but one was strictly suppressed: and the author of the second does not (except as an improper title) call it a prymer, but a manual of prayers. Nevertheless both of these continue so far the true character of the books which they were intended to supersede that the greater part of them is occupied with the offices for the hours, the dirge, the seven psalms, &c. The third prymer selected by Dr. Burton

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by an account of the prymer by an author who pretends to give the result of original inquiry, and who is still sometimes appealed to on these matters. I refer to a book by Shepherd, an ignorant and self-sufficient writer on the Common prayer book. He "has not been able to ascertain when the prymer was first published," but "suspects it had been in circulation two or perhaps nearly three years before 1529." This date being, as he also tells us, some six years "before the papal supremacy was transferred to the king." "In 1535 appeared an edition of the king's prymer, in quarto, edited by Dr. Marshall"—but it is ridiculous to extract further from such a heap of absurdities: they may all be found in the Introduction to his book, pp. ii–v.

is the famous one put forth by king Henry the eighth in 1545.[68]

[68] The editor in his observations upon this book says, "Wilkins has printed in his Concilia (vol. 3. p. 873) 'A preface made by the king's most excellent majesty into his Prymer book,' without stating the authority from which he took it. It does not appear in any editions of the prymer which I have seen; but I have thought fit to print it in its proper place as a preface to the prymer." Pref. p. lx. I have four editions of this prymer of Henry the eighth: two by Whitchurch, 8vo. 1545 and 1546, neither of which has the preface; and two by Grafton, 4to. and 8vo. 1545, and the preface is in both of these. Dr. Burton printed from a copy in the Bodleian, Whitchurch, 1545; but he does not state the size. I consider the 4to. edition by Grafton of that year to be the authentic one.

But the above passage from Dr. Burton's preface is too remarkable, in another way, to be passed over without remark. It shows how little pains he bestowed upon the subject which he had undertaken. The insinuation (for such it is) against the accuracy if not the honesty of Wilkins is repeated almost word for word from Mr. Jenkyns' preface to archbishop Cranmer's Remains. Mr. Jenkyns says, "This preface [to the prymer] is quoted on the authority of Wilkins. It does not occur in the reprint of the prymer, nor in any of the earlier copies which the editor has seen;" p. xli. Mr. Jenkyns does not state how many earlier copies he has examined: even if he could I think he was wise in the omission, having just before explained king Henry's prymer to be a book which for the first time contained "besides an English litany, translations from the matins, vespers, and other parts of the breviary; and thus supplied the means of joining in some portion at least of the public worship with the understanding as well as with the spirit." Some may think it excusable in a writer who had another object before him (one, let me say, upon the whole well executed) to make hastily such incorrect assertions; but it must be remembered that his readers, less learned even than their author, give him credit for at least inquiry and are led astray by him. And if Mr. Jenkyns' case admits but of a doubtful excuse, what are we to say for Dr. Burton?

Dr. Cardwell in his preface to the two books of Common prayer of Edward the sixth seems to have been scarcely better informed about this part of the history of the church of England

Again, Dr. Burton seems to suppose that the prymers were chiefly put forth by the reforming party, although he acknowledges that some "were composed by zealous adherents of the church of Rome, for several years before the separation of the church of England." That this, however, was not so is evident from the fact of so many volumes, all called prymers, having been put forth before 1535, containing not the "compositions" of any one who chose to make such an attempt nor even selections from the breviary, but certain set prayers and offices which were appointed and authorised by the Church. As I have said, the researches of the last few years have taught us what we may expect to find in such books; and in the middle ages the purchasers of them did not buy blindly, as men often do in modern days, merely books of prayer but "*the* prymer," or "*the* prymer of Salisbury use," or, a few years later, "*the* prymer set forth by the king's authority." The manuscript now printed will prove this fact also among others, that the prymer was in circulation

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than was Dr. Burton. He speaks of the cause of the reformation having "advanced" at the time of Edward's accession "to the following extent. The church of England was a distinct body, acknowledging no allegiance to the church of Rome; . . . the litany and other portions of the public services had been translated and published, together with many forms of private prayer, in order that [quoting the preface to the king's prymer of 1545] 'such as are ignorant of any foreign speech may have what to pray in their own acquainted and familiar language with fruit and understanding;'" p. vj. No "portions of the public services" had been then translated, except what had been in the hands of the people for many years before; and Dr. Cardwell can possibly be understood only as believing that the litany and some private prayers had been translated into English for the first time in the later years of Henry the eighth.

and to be procured, not merely "several years before the separation" &c., but at least a hundred and fifty years. How much earlier than that must still remain a subject of inquiry.

It is not to be forgotten also that the unauthorised books entitle themselves "a goodly prymer," or "a manual of prayers," never "*the* prymer;" and so the edicts issued against them speak: as on the one hand they did not contain the same doctrines, so on the other the new books could not be mistaken for those which bore their proper name.

As this is a point of some importance, and which has not been inquired into, I shall further add the tables of contents of two printed editions of *the* prymer to be compared with the contents of my manuscript.

First then the manuscript: which has no "table," but contains the following:—

Matins and hours of our Lady.

Evensong and compline.

The vij. penitential psalms.

The xv. psalms.

The litany.

Placebo.

Dirge.

The psalms of commendation.

Pater noster: ave Maria: creed: the ten commandments: the seven deadly sins.

Secondly, the table of one of the most complete of the prymers "after the use of Sarum:" viz. in 4to. London, by Thomas Petyt, 1543.

"Fyrst an almanacke for .xx. yeares.

A calender.

A prayer of the seuen wordes that our Lorde spake on the crosse at his passyon.

The Pater noster, and the ave Marya.
The ten commaundementes of allmyghtye God.
The symball or crede of the great doctour Athanasius called *Quicunque vult.*
An inuocacyon vnto the holy Trinyte.
The .iiii. gospels of the foure euangelystes.
The Passyon of oure Lorde Jesu Chryst.
The matyns.
The euensonge.
The complyn.
Salve regina. Gaude virgo. Gaude flore. Stella cœli. Ave verum corpus.
The .xv. Ooes.
The seuen psalmes with the letani.
The verses S. Bernarde.
The diryge.
The commendacyons.
The psalmes of the Passyon.
Saynt Hieroms psalter.
A prayer unto oure sauyoure Jesu Chryst.
A prayer of saynt Bernarde.
When thou shalt receyue the sacrament.
When thou hast receyued it.
A prayer to obtayne wysdome. Sapience the .ix. chapytre.
A prayer of Salomon for wysdom .iii. regum the thyrde chapytre.
For a competent lyuynge. Prouerbes the .xxx. chapytre."

I need scarcely observe that, with the exception of some additional hymns and prayers, this book is for all practical purposes the same as the preceding.

And even more exact with it is, thirdly, the table

of "the Prymer set forth by y[e] kinges maieste and his Cleargy." 1545.[69]

"The contentes of this booke.
The kalendre.
The kynges highnesse iniunction.
The prayer of our Lorde.
The salutacion of the angel.
The crede or articles of the faith.
The ten commaundementes.
Certein graces.
The matyns.
The euensong.
The complin.
The seuen psalmes.
The letany.
The dirige.
The commendations.
The psalmes of the passion.
The passion of our Lorde.
Certeine godly praiers, for sundry purposes."

Having thus shewn that in their contents and object these later prymers (which have been taken only as specimens from several such) and the present manuscript may almost be said to be identical, I do not think that the title "Prymer" is an improper one to give it.

The only objection which could be offered would be that it is a term of too late an introduction to be applied to a book of devotions written in the fourteenth century. But it is quite impossible to say how early the term was so applied. Dr. Burton says, "the word prymer appears to have been in use long

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[69] The book referred to in the preceding note.

before the date mentioned above," 1535; and there is no doubt of the fact, though he himself seems to mean by "long before" some ten or twenty years.[70] The word Prymer is peculiarly English, as connected with the English versions of the horæ and occasional devotions such as the litany, the dirge, &c., and by means of a most valuable series of documents, viz. ancient wills, we can trace it upwards to the date assigned to my manuscript. Upon this point I shall not hesitate, though it may appear unnecessary, to accumulate authorities.

In the year 1521, by her last will, lady Scrope leaves to her sister "a prymer and a psalter, which I had of the gift of king Henry the seventh's mother." A.D. 1511, Robert Fabyan the chronicler directs that his wife should keep among other goods he had given her in his lifetime his "great masse booke and also the great prymar." A.D. 1503, Katherine, lady Hastings, leaves her "prym'ar" to one person, and to another "a faire prymar, which I had by the yefture of queen Elizabeth."[71] A "little prymer" is mentioned in the will of Sir Ralph Hastings, 1495. In 1480, Ann duchess of Buckingham gives "a prymer with clasps of silver gilt covered with purple velvet." I pass over fifty years, and in 1427 we find Elizabeth, lady Fitzhugh, giving to one of her two daughters "a prymer covered in red," and to the other "a prymer covered in blue." In 1415 Michael earl of Suffolk leaves his "little prymer which belonged to John de la Pole, his brother."

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[70] Compare his pref. p. 2.

[71] In the same year the queen herself paid "for a prymer and saulter, xx*d*." *Privy purse expenses*, p. 105.

In 1399, Eleanor duchess of Gloucester leaves her daughter "a book with the psalter, prymer, and other devotions, with two clasps of gold enamelled with my arms, which book I have often used." And lastly, in the year 1391 Margaret countess of Devon leaves "two prymers" to her daughter.[72]

Take again two examples from a similar collection. In the year 1420 Matilda, wife of William Bowes, says "Item do et lego Elizabethæ filiæ meæ j blak primer." In the year 1427, already referred to, "Elizabeth lady of Rauenswath" leaves to her "doghter Mariory a prymer cou'ed in rede, and (her) doghter Darcy a sauter (psalter) cou'ed in blew, and (her) doghter Malde Eure a prim' couered in blew."[73]

We may quote one passage from Chaucer, from the prioress' tale:—

"This litel childe his litel book lerning,
As he sate in the scole at his primere,

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[72] In the Testamenta vetusta, edited by Sir Harris Nicolas, vol. 1. pp. 127, 148, 190, 213, 357; vol. 2. pp. 421, 452, 506, 588.

[73] *Wills and inventories* (Surtees Society), pp. 65, 74. The first is valuable, as it helps to prove that there was no Latin name by which at that time the prymer was known. In the same will occurs a very curious item: "Lego . . . filiolæ meæ j romance book is called the gospelles." Mr. Surtees printed this in his History of Durham, and asks in a note (1. ij. 5), "Did a romance ever actually exist under this strange title? or had the Lady of Dalden (the testatrix) met with one of Wycliffe's bibles, and conceived the gospels to be a series of fabulous adventures?" Both questions may easily be answered: the lady of Dalden was no heretic, as her will abundantly testifies; and the "romance book" simply meant a book written in what was, in fact, the common language of many books read at that period by educated people of the upper classes, namely, the French or Romance. Some useful remarks on this will be found in Freeman's learned work on the Norman conquest, vol. 1. p. 17; and the subject further discussed in note V. p. 606.

> He Alma Redemptoris herde sing,
> As children lered hir antiphonere."[74]

About the year 1459 a monk at Bolton abbey is requested in a letter to send a prymer: "as ever I be saved, she praied me write for either salter or primmer."[75] In the year 1500, among the presentments to the commissary of the diocese of London occurs, "Avicia Godfrey notatur officio quod subtraxit quendam librum vocatum a *premar* Elisabetha Sekett serviente W. Ward extra ecclesiam," etc.[76]

To these let us add the testimony of the author of Piers Plouwman, who (whatever his real name may have been) wrote before the year 1365, and I think there will remain no doubt that the title prymer was in common use, and its meaning well ascertained, certainly before the middle of the fourteenth century. He says,

> "The lomes that ich labour with, and lyflode deserve,
> Ys paternoster and my prymer, placebo and dirige,
> And my sauter som tyme, and my seuen psalmes."[77]

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[74] Line 13446. The last line illustrates the extract from archbishop Egbert's pontifical, as to the "psalmista" or little chorister, given in the note at the end of the office for the tonsure in vol. 2.

[75] Plumpton correspondence, pref. p. xxxix.

[76] Hale's precedents, no. ccxliij. The editor seems to have been in error in explaining this to have been a case of carrying away a church book. I do not remember any example of a prymer among the service books of a church; nor would there have been any need of such a book for the purpose of public and general prayer.

[77] Pass. vj. l. 44. In another place he speaks of priests praying for people and saying—

> "... *placebo* and *dirige*
> Here sauter and here seuene psalmis."
>
> Pass. iv. l. 467.

We can trace back the word "prymer" nearly to the beginning of the fourteenth century; but not so easily determine when the meaning of it, in reference

It is highly probable that the word was originally derived from some small manuals, which were spread among the people, of the first and chief lessons of religious belief and practice. These may have been so called not only because they were the lessons of children, but equally necessary for all men to learn. And the prymer in its first state may have been well known, in the early days even of the Anglo-saxons, under that or some similar name as containing the creed and the pater noster.

For there never was a period in the history of the English church, when care was not taken to enforce upon all priests the duty of teaching their people the rudiments of the faith in the vulgar tongue, and to provide books fitted for that purpose. Hence it is that we have still remaining in manuscript so many short expositions in English of the creed and the Lord's prayer and the ten commandments; to which are often added the seven works of mercy, the seven sacraments of grace, and such-like: of which one of the most famous was written by Thoresby archbishop of York, about the time of Piers Plouwman, 1370.[78] Archbishop Peckham in his constitutions

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to a manual of private prayers, fell into disuse and was forgotten. Massinger certainly must be understood as referring to the prymer in its old sense (a religious book) when he says:—

". . . . this is nothing.
Marrall. More than ever I would have believed, though I had found it in my primer."

A new way to pay old debts, 2. ij. I remember no later example of the word.

[78] *Collier*, Ecclesiastical history, vol. 1. 562.

Nothing is more common than to find in the catalogues of cathedral libraries, or upon the fly-leaves of English manuscripts of about the fourteenth century, some note of enquiry if the book happens to contain religious treatises, "Quære, by Wyckliffe." The general ignorance of mediæval

at Lambeth orders every parish priest in his province to expound once every year to the people, in the vulgar tongue,[79] without "any fantastical

history, both secular and ecclesiastical, which prevailed in the eighteenth century is something astounding. We can hardly be surprised that up to the time of Dr. Burton it was a fashion to indulge a habit of thought or belief which could not conceive the existence of any prayer books in English before the prymers of Henry the eighth or the prayer books of Edward the sixth, or that there were any devotional books except those written by Wickliffe. The libraries of the British museum, of the Bodleian, and the university of Cambridge contain religious books and treatises in English, dating from 1300 to 1500, which may be counted by hundreds rather than by scores, in spite of the lapse of centuries and the risk of wilful destruction to which they have been exposed.

We may hope that some learned person will, before long, devote himself to a thorough examination of these manuscripts: they form a mine of wealth into which very few have attempted as yet to search.

Accidental illustrations of the general acknowledgment that people were expected in the middle ages to read religious books and the bible are of much importance. For example such as this, where Chaucer complains of his doctor of physic, that

"His study was but little on the Bible."

Line 440.

It may very reasonably be said that, taking the relative population of England in the years 1350 and 1750, there were more people who could read two hundred years before the reformation than two hundred years afterwards.

People are thus advised to read religious books, at the end of a pious treatise in the British museum: "We shulde rede and vse bokes in to yis ende and entente: for formys of preysynge and preyynge to god; to oure lady seynt marye; and to alle the seyntes; y[t] we myghte haue by y[e] forseyd vse of redynge, vnderstondynge of god, of hys benyfetys, of hys lawe, of hys seruyce, or some other goodly and gostly trowyis: or ellys that we myghte haue affecyon to ward god and hys seyntes and hys seruyce to be gendryd and geten." Harl. MS. 1706. f. 212.

[79] *Vulgariter:* which Lyndwood explains to be "in lingua materna, et vulgari. Anglica viz. Anglicis, Gallica Gallicis. Et est

affectation of subtilty," the fourteen articles of the faith, the ten commandments, the two precepts of the gospel, &c. These are afterwards gone into at length in the next four statutes, as if a form which might be used or imitated.[80] A synodal statute of the diocese of Norwich, A.D. 1257, enjoins all rectors and parish priests to be careful to teach the children of their people the Lord's prayer and the creed.[81] The same are commanded to be taught by all parish priests to the laity in the last canon of the synod of Exeter in 1287.[82] These canons add also the salutation of the blessed Virgin, and the first of them explains the proper use of the sign of the cross. Nor were injunctions alone given to the people; they were looked after and presented for ignorance at visitations. One example may be given, of the

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idem dicere *vulgariter*, i.e. non literaliter, sed ad intellectum vulgi: i.e. communitatis plebium simul commorantium." His observations also upon "absque cujuslibet subtilitatis textura fantastica" are worth referring to. Lib. 1. tit. xi. *Ignorantia sacerdotum*.

[80] A.D. 1281. *Wilkins*, Concilia, tom. 2. 54. Compare also constit. Geo. Neville, Concilia, tom. 3. 599.

[81] *Wilkins*, Concilia, tom. 1. 732.

[82] Ib. tom. 2. 168. Compare also tom. 2. 297, synod of Winchester. This adds: "A laicis etiam jam adultis, cum ad confessionem venerint, an sciant hujusmodi, exquisitive inquiratur; ut si forte ea non noverint, prout accidit in plerisque, per ipsos presbyteros super hoc informentur." See also tom. 1. pp. 669, 693, 704, and 732; also tom. 3. p. 59.

We have an evidence how general the knowledge of these elements of Christianity was among the people from an inscription on a brass in Spofforth church, in Yorkshire, of the fifteenth century. All who pass by are requested to say a *De profundis* "if you letterd be:" but,

"If thou be unlearned and cannot reed,
For oure soules and all crysten soules med,
Saye a paternoster and ave and a crede."

year 1497, in the diocese of London: "Willielmus Nicholl notatur officio quod male sapit de fide, quia raro accedit ad ecclesiam suam parochialem. Et cum venerit, nullas preces Deo fundit, et creditur, quod nescit orationem Dominicam, salutationem angelicam, neque symbolum apostolorum: . . . habet ad purgandum se vij Marcii."[83]

Passing over the intermediate centuries, it must be sufficient to collect some notices to the same purpose from documents of the Anglo-saxon age. The xxiind of the ecclesiastical institutes begins, "All ye faithful men are to be admonished in common, from the least to the greatest, that every man learn the Pater noster, and creed."[84] The laws of king Canute, A.D. 1033 (the xxijnd), enjoin the same thing: because, it is added, by the one every christian should learn to pray to God and by the other declare his faith.[85] In 960, the xvijth of the canons enacted under king Edgar directs that every Christian should diligently teach his child the Pater noster and creed.[86] Nearly two hundred years before it was ordered by the council of Chalcuith, not only that all should know them but that all sponsors should promise to teach their god-children.[87]

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[83] *Hale's precedents*, clxxvij.

[84] *Thorpe*, Ancient laws and institutes of England, vol. 2. 419. In this chapter of the institutes allusion is made to the canon of the council of Chalcuith, quoted below: "It was established formerly, that no man who knew not the creed and Pater noster, might receive any man, either at the bishop's hand or at baptism." Compare also the 23rd of Ælfric's canons, *Wilkins*, Concilia, tom. 1. 253.

[85] *Wilkins*, Concilia, tom. 1. 304.

[86] Ib. tom. 1. 226.

[87] Ib. tom. 1. 146. In the year 816 another synod was held at Chalcuith, under archbishop Wulfred, when among other prayers and services to be observed by the church on the death of a

And, once more, I must not omit the authority of one who was almost contemporary with St. Augustin of Canterbury. The venerable Bede in his letter to archbishop Egbert insists upon the same necessity; "hoc præ ceteris" are his words "omni instantia procurandum arbitror, ut fidem catholicam, quæ apostolorum symbolo continetur, et Dominicam orationem, quam sancti evangelii nos scriptura edocet omnium, qui ad tuum regimen pertinent, memoriæ radicitus infigere cures."[88] Nor was the archbishop

bishop, it was ordered "et vij beltidum Pater noster pro eo cantetur." *Wilkins*, Concilia, tom. I. 171. *Johnson*, ecc. laws, vol. I. p. 307, translates this "seven belts of Pater nosters," and says in his note, "This seems to imply that they had in this age a certain number of studs fastened into their belts or girdles, which were then used, as strings of beads now are, for the numbering of their prayers: but with the difference, that the studs were all of one size, and that every one of them stood for a *Pater-noster*: whereas the modern fashion is to have ten lesser beads, which stand for *Ave-Maries*, to one larger, which stands for a Pater-noster." The passage from the council is curious; but it is not easy to conjecture on what grounds the annotator concluded that the studs were all of one size. In the year 1399, Eleanor of Gloucester in her last will left her mother "a pair of pater-nosters of coral." *Nicolas*, Testamenta vetusta, I. 147. The editor in a note (pref. xxix) says, "these were sometimes called 'a pair of beads,' and were made of coral, cornelian or jet, and for the common people of wood. Chaucer's prioresse

'Of small corall about her arm, she bore
A paire of bedes . . . .'"

We have similar examples from other inventories. For example, in 1412 Roger de Kyrkby possessed "unum par de bedes et unus agnus dei." *Wills and inventories* (Surtees soc.), p. 56. Compare also pp. 75 and 128. About the same time Isabel Plumpton leaves to her daughter "unum par precalium auri." *Plumpton correspondence*, p. xxxj.

[88] Opera historica, p. 211. Compare also archbishop Parker, de ant. Brit. eccles. p. 53. Several canons are cited by Martene from early foreign councils to the same effect, and that the knowledge which people had should be enquired into previously to their

unmindful of his duty in this respect: the sixth of his excerpts is, "ut unusquisque sacerdos, orationem dominicam et symbolum populo sibi commisso curiose insinuet, ac totius religionis studium, et christianitatis cultum eorum mentibus ostendat."[89]

Springing therefore from some such early manuals of things necessary for all men to know and to do, the prymer passed on from age to age, gradually collecting now an office and then a prayer, at one time the penitential psalms, at another the litany, at another the dirge, until at last it arrived at the state in which with little further alteration it remained during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries: always a known book, authorised and distributed by the church of England.[90]

Nor was the use of the prymer confined to England: the same book under another name, containing the same offices, was equally well known in other countries and recommended for the daily devotions of the laity. Although they have now become rare, still a not inconsiderable number exist in public libraries. Many of these are in German or Flemish. The illuminations and borders are similar to those in contemporary English books. But in later years, after the invention of printing, copies were multiplied to meet the demand. Some

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being admitted to confession. *De antiquis eccles. ritibus*, lib. 1. cap. vi. tom. 1. 264.

[89] Concilia, tom. 1. p. 102.

[90] The last order in convocation which I remember having reference to the old catholic prymer was in 1557: "Ut precationum liber horas beatæ Mariæ, psalmos penitentiales, vigilias, mortuorum commendationes, psalmos passionis, et alias pias precationes complectens, Latine et Anglice edatur, quo a populo in ecclesia uniusmodi precandi modus observetur." Concil. tom. 4. p. 156.

six or eight are in the library of the British museum, printed before the middle of the sixteenth century. Four of these are Spanish; "Horas de la virgen maria segun el uso Romano con otros officios," printed at Paris by Guillen Marlin, in 1546. Another, earlier, by Nicholas Higman for Simon Vostre, of which a copy is also in the Bodleian;[91] and another, at Lyons, in 1551. There is a German prymer, a small book, printed in 1491. Three or four in French, of which two are in verse, with the Latin offices fully given in the margin in smaller type; in quarto by John Petit, about 1524. An earlier edition is in prose, the French only, by Jehan de Brie, about 1510, with the title, "Cy commencent les heures nostre dame a lusaige de Romme."

Besides these, some very early editions of the prymer or hours of our Lady were printed in Greek: "secundum consuetudinem Romanæ curiæ." One was published at Florence, in 1520; and three by Aldus, in 1497, 1505, and 1521.

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[91] Most of us have heard the lines, as old as the time of Piers Plouwman:—

"When Adam delved and Eve span,
Who was then the gentleman?"

At the end of the Bodleian copy of the prymer in French is a hymn, of which this is the first stanza:—

"Adam fut faut et cree gentilhomme,
Et moy aussi, mais bien tost fut deceu
Le bon Adam, quant luy donnay la pomme,
Et par nous fut peche mortel conceu."

CHAPTER IV.

IF, then, the above be a correct view of the history of the prymer, a history as all must at least allow involved in some difficulty and obscurity, it would be an useless task to attempt to guess (as some have) at the first author of it. In fact, it would be improper to say that any one was the author of the prymer. Hence, I am not only relieved but absolutely precluded from the entire discussion of such a question. If any given person can be proved to be the author much doubt would be thrown over the accuracy of my argument. As to the facts which have been produced and cited, these would still remain; and not easily, it is supposed, to be explained away. But, upon the other hand, it may still be a matter of legitimate enquiry, by what modifications and alteration the prymer arrived at the state in which we have it at the beginning of the fifteenth century? Changes must have taken place in the language of the country, as time went on, and these of course exerted their influence upon the prymer. Yet, even this is not a subject which I feel called upon to consider further than to correct a positive and erroneous statement, which has been more than once appealed to, in the preface to Lewis's edition of John Wickliffe's version of the new Testament.

He says: "About four and twenty years after Dr. Wiclif's death it was decreed by archbishop Arundel, in a constitution published in a convocation of the clergy of his province assembled at

Oxford, that 'no one should thereafter translate any text of holy Scripture into English by way of a book, and that no book, etc. of this kind should be read that was composed lately in the time of John Wiclif, or since his death.' The design of this constitution, our canonist Lyndwood observed, was, 1. To forbid the translation of the scripture into English, etc. by any private person of his own head or without being authorised so to do. 2. To prohibit the use and reading of certain books so translated. For, as it appears, not only the Bible had been translated into English, but the followers of Wiclif having, about the year 1389, separated from the communion of the then established church, they translated into English several of the church books, as the breviary, missal, prymer, office of the blessed Virgin, our Ladies mattins, &c., that so they might worship God in their religious assemblies in a tongue which they understood."[92]

Now, without enquiring what was the distinction which Lewis meant between "the office of the

[92] Preface, p. 10. Neither correction nor support of this assertion of Lewis is made in the new edition, in 8vo. 1818.

The constitution referred to by Lewis is so important, that it may be well to quote a little more of it. The same reasons are given for strict supervision over translations into the vulgar tongue which at the present time are acknowledged with regard to what are called "authorized versions" of the sacred scriptures: "Periculosa quoque res est, testante beato Jeronymo, textum sacræ scripturæ de uno in aliud idioma transferre, eo quod in ipsis translationibus non de facili idem in omnibus sensus retinetur: statuimus igitur et ordinamus ut nemo deinceps aliquem textum sacræ scripturæ auctoritate sua in linguam Anglicanam . . . quousque per loci diœcesanum, seu, si res exegerit, per concilium provinciale ipsa translatio fuerit approbata." Concilia, tom. 3. p. 317.

blessed Virgin" and "our Lady's matins," it is really almost impossible to characterise the above passage as other than a deliberate invention of his own. There is not the slightest evidence, not a shadow of proof, that either the missal or the breviary was ever translated into English during the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries. And it is most clear not only that such a book as the prymer in English, before the year 1500, was not one which in any way would agree with or recommend the peculiar opinions of Wickliffe and his sect, but also that those persons from whose wills I have made extracts above died in full communion with and were pious members of the catholic church of England. Nor can we allow that the followers of Wickliffe would have carefully and honestly translated the offices of the blessed Virgin, the litany, or the dirge; on the contrary, we should have found their tenets introduced and prayers to which they objected omitted, of all which there is not the slightest trace.

But what does Lyndwood say? and Lewis is not sufficiently careful to give the reference, or the original: but the place is in the Provinciale, lib. v. tit. 4, Periculosa: "*Libri*, sc. de novo compilandi. Secus si hoc fiat per modum sermonis publici, exponendo textum in lingua vulgari. Et quod dicit, *per viam libri* ["by way of a book"] intelligere potes sic, videlicet, ut inde conficiat librum continentem tota Biblia. Appellatione namque *libri* simpliciter sumpti continetur liber completus et integer, et non secundum partes numerales, prout sæpius unum volumen dividitur in plures libros, ut patet in Bibliis. Vel potes intelligere sic, ut scil. unum librum particularem textus Bibliorum trans-

ferat." "*Aut tractatus.* Sic videlicet, quod de dictis doctorum, vel propriis, aliquem tractatum componat applicando textum sacræ Scripturæ, et illius sensum transferendo in Anglicum." But there is not a word here, nor even the most distant allusion, about any translation of a prymer, or a missal, or a breviary; and therefore no prohibition of them.[93]

The reader will see that nearly one half of the prymer is occupied by the offices of the hours of our Lady. It is from this circumstance that the Latin editions are called Horæ.[94] The other parts

[93] There is a place in Sir Thomas More's works which Lewis cites under the reference, "Dialogues, fol. 82. a;" in which that great writer states that there were many allowed translations of the Bible in the vulgar tongue before Wickliffe's time. "Ye shall understande" are his words, "that .... the hole byble was longe byfore his daies by vertuouse and wel-learned men translated into the englysh tongue, and by good and godly people with devotion and soberness well and reverently read." The reader will see how directly this assertion of Sir Thomas More bears upon the question of the English prymer. Nor is there the least reason to doubt the truth or the correctness of it, and that the translations spoken of were common enough in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Archbishop Cranmer, in the preface to his bible of 1540, carries the matter back still further than Sir Thomas More: "If the matter should be tried by custom, we might also allege custom for the reading of the Scripture in the vulgar tongue, and prescribe the more ancient customs. For, many hundred years ago Scripture was translated and read in the Saxons' tongue, which at that time was our mother's tongue: whereof there remaineth yet divers copies, found lately in old abbeys. And when this language waxed old and out of common usage, by cause folk should not lack the fruit of reading, it was again translated into the newer language, whereof yet also many copies remain, and be daily found."

[94] In the Latin books the names orarium, horæ, prymer, and enchiridion are sometimes used interchangeably. Thus "the prymer of Salysbury use," Rouen, 1537, 12mo., as the title runs, in the colophon has "Expliciunt horæ beatissimæ V. M. secundum usum Sarum." And

of the book do not require more explanation than will readily fall into the compass of a note as we go along: but "the Hours" may more properly be spoken of here.

Not only did the Catholic Church accurately provide (as we have seen) the greater services of the canonical hours, but smaller offices were drawn up and approved, to be used in addition at the same times by the more devout among her children. Such were the hours of the Holy Spirit, of the blessed Trinity, and of the cross. But none were so complete in their arrangement as the hours of the blessed Virgin.[95]

This office, commonly called also the *officium parvum*, was first drawn up according to Baronius in his annals, A.D. 1056, by Peter Damian in that year: but there can be little doubt that it was in general use for some centuries before his time. Or rather had been so: for Damian certainly restored it, the observance of the office having fallen gradually away. It is probable also that he revised and corrected the before existing arrangement. How ancient it really is some would prove from edicts of popes Gregory the third and Zachary, who (it is asserted) before the middle of the sixth century ordered the hours of our Lady to be said by some

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the enchiridion of 1530 is so called in the title, but in the colophon we have "Impressum est hoc orarium," &c.

[95] I know no modern volume which contains so many of these occasional offices as the "Parva Christianæ pietatis officia, Paris, e typographia regia, 1643," 4to. In it, besides the hours of the Virgin, are those of the Holy Spirit, the guardian angel, the Name of Jesus, St. Louis, the holy sacrament, the holy cross, the mysteries of our blessed Lord, penitence, and many others. It is moreover a very splendid specimen of typography.

named orders of monks, throughout the year, in addition to the canonical hours. In the council of Claremont, A.D. 1096, the saying of the hours of the blessed Virgin also was made obligatory upon all clergy:[96] which obligation continued until removed by the bull of pope Pius the fifth for the regulation of the breviary. This removal does not extend however to choirs, where the custom of saying the office was through a greater devotion continued.[97]

In saying the office matins and vespers of the Virgin were generally said before, and the other hours after, the corresponding services of the day. This was the rule in choir: those who recited in private were allowed a wider liberty. The custom, however, was not the same in all churches; for some recited all the offices before those which corresponded of the day, except compline.[98]

The office of the blessed Virgin was very much used also by the laity: although they were not obliged, except upon saturdays, when it would seem

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[96] An early writer, Radulph Tungrensis, says: "De officio B. Virginis legitur in chronicis, quod Urbanus II, in Gallias veniens, concilium apud Claremontem urbem celebravit, anno Domini MXCVI, in quo statutum est, quod horæ B. Mariæ virginis quotidie dicantur, officiumque ejus diebus sabbatorum solenniter fiat." *De canon. observ.* prop. XX. Which is thus entitled, "Officia mortuorum et Virginis gloriosæ obligatoria sunt, et ab omnibus observanda." See below, in the Defensorium directorii: "in die omnium sanctorum quacunque feria contigerit, vesperæ, matutinæ, et omnes horæ de sancta Maria dicantur extra chorum cum memoriis consuetis." Also, the order for ordaining acolytes, in vol. 2; who are enjoined to say the office of our Lady, "*quotidie ad terminum vitæ.*"

[97] Vide *Gavantus*, Thesaurus sac. rit. tom. 2. 262; *Labbe et Cossart*, Concilia, tom. X. 511, 517.

[98] *Radulph Tungrensis*, prop. XX.

that the decree of the council of Claremont was binding upon them. The same pope just spoken of, Pius V, forbade the use of vernacular translations of this office.

The late Dr. Rock sent me [1846] the following account of the office of the blessed Virgin. He says, "There are three kinds of office used by the Church in honour of the blessed Virgin Mary: the office as said on her festivals, such as the purification, the annunciation, the assumption, &c.: the office of the B. V. Mary on saturday: and the little office.

"The first kind of office is arranged much like the office of other high festivals and saints' days. It has the invitatory (proper) and psalm Venite (proper), and three nocturns in matins, each nocturn consisting of three psalms, the same for all her festivals, with three lessons, varying with the festival, each followed by its proper response and versicle: so that there are nine psalms and nine lessons with their proper anthems, and responses in matins, which close with Te Deum. Lauds are constructed—mutatis mutandis—just as the other lauds. The other hours are alike in form to the hours of the other festivals, having however their own anthems (from lauds) hymns, little chapters, responses, versicles and collect. Evensong is the same, in form, as on other festivals, but has its own psalms, &c. The office on the festivals of the B. V. Mary is called the full office, as contrasted with the little office.

"The office of the B. V. Mary on saturday is somewhat different: for it has but one nocturn at matins, but that nocturn consists of twelve psalms

(assigned in the distribution of the psalter for the ferial office on saturday) and three lessons, but the third lesson is followed by Te Deum. The lauds and other hours have the psalms assigned to them in the psalter, and therefore instead of the psalms for evensong and compline which are said in the little office. The psalms for the evensong said on friday evening are those marked for friday in the psalter, and the psalms at compline are those said in the common compline. The rubric .viii. at the beginning of the winter part of the Roman breviary will tell you on what days the saturday office of our Lady can and cannot be said.

"The little office of the B. V. Mary has but one nocturn, consisting of three psalms and three lessons with their anthems, responses, &c. The three psalms for this nocturn are taken from the nocturns of the office of the B. V. Mary said upon her great festivals: and are thus chosen. On monday and thursday, the three psalms of the first nocturn: on tuesday and friday, the psalms of the second nocturn: on wednesday and saturday, the psalms of the third nocturn. The absolution, blessings, lessons, &c. are almost always the same: and the only variation in them, and indeed in the versicles and other minor parts, occurs in advent.

"With regard to the little office of the B.V. Mary, there existed even as early as the seventh century the practice of saying it, besides the regular canonical office of the day, in many monasteries of western Europe. Towards the closing of the eleventh century it was decreed at the council of Clermont that all the secular clergy should say the little office as well as the usual canonical office, and this discipline was

kept up until the revision of the Roman breviary, when pope Pius the fifth dispensed with the little office to the secular clergy out of choir.

"The clergy prevailed upon the people to adopt the custom of *daily* saying the office of the B. V. Mary. Hence the number of manuscript hours of our Lady; and no doubt the origin of your invaluable English version, which must have been made for the laity."

The above description seems to require but little either in addition or explanation. The reader will see that the prymer which follows does not contain any office different upon one day of the week from that of another, or any rubrics specifying variations to be observed in advent. It is by these characteristics that "the hours of the blessed Virgin" as they are commonly called, and of which in Latin (as Dr. Rock says) there are so many manuscripts, are to be distinguished both from the office of the saturday and the little office, according to the arrangement of these in the Sarum breviaries. Prymers and horæ being especially intended for the use of the laity, it appears that they were not called upon to search out even the few changes which strictly were appointed: but that (which I do not suppose would have been allowed in the case of clerks) it was held to be sufficient and praiseworthy if they recited the same office, unvaried, throughout the year. I do not mean to say that these people's books, if I may so speak of them, never contained such rules and variations; but, that they commonly did not. And these rules for particular seasons, when so inserted, ranged in their number and fulness from the complete body which was in the breviary down to

simply one or two, affecting merely an alleluya, or response: such as that in the prymer of 1543: "*Betwene Septuagesima (whiche beginneth the .iiij. saterdaye before clene lent) and Easter, for* prayse ye the lord, *ye must say* laude be to the kynge of eternall glorye."

I have now merely to add a remark upon the appendix to the prymer. In this have been placed some other mediæval versions of the Te Deum and other hymns: of the Lord's prayer, and the creed: and two litanies. I hope they will not be unacceptable to the reader. The English calendars are of considerable importance: and though neither of them, nor the Latin from the enchiridion, can lay claim to that very high antiquity distinguishing many calendars which have been published by various writers, yet they have their own and especial interest. As regards the Latin calendar, its claim to usefulness arises from the very opposite qualities which give their value to or stamp the age of the most venerable monuments of this kind extant; namely, in the collections of Bucherius, Pinius, and Mabillon. One of these authors explains the criteria of antiquity,[99] offering a curious contrast to this very full and very late calendar of the use of Sarum: "Jam vero assignari possunt varii characteres, e quibus major antiquitas kalendariorum

[99] *Pinius*, Tractatus de lit. antiq. Hisp. p. lxxix. Compare also *Baronius*, in martyrol. cap. 8: and *Beckius*, martyrol. eccles. Germanicæ, p. 24. The fourth and fifth arguments by which this last author supports the antiquity of the particular martyrology which he has edited, are its simplicity, attaching the names only of the saints to their proper days; and the large number of vacant days in the calendar.

dignoscatur: nimirum annuntiationum paucitas; simplicitas, nuda absque elogiis ac sola fere martyrum nomina exprimens; nulla aut certe paucissima Deiparæ festa signata; quadragesima nominibus sanctorum vacua; non plurium coacervatio, sed unius tantum aut alterius sancti nomen, et prætermisso quidem titulo sancti aut beati; nullæ denique vel saltem paucissimæ per anni decursum vigiliæ in kalendariis notatæ; omnia hæc et singula sacrorum fastorum antiquitatem commendant et confirmant."

The Prymer in English.

The Contents of this Prymer.

The Prymer.

Here bigynnen matyns of our ladi.[1]

Domine labia.

LORD, thou schalt opyne myn lippis: And my mouth schal schewe thi prisyng.[2]

God, take heede to myn help: Lord hiȝe[3] thee to helpe me.

Glorie[4] be to the fadir and to the sone and to the

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[1] "Incipiunt" or "Sequuntur horæ beatæ Mariæ virginis secundum usum Sarum" is commonly the first rubric at the beginning of the hours of our Lady in the printed "horæ." Her office is generally preceded by some occasional prayers, or the Passion from the four gospels, or other matter.

[2] "Thys verse ys only said at mattyns, that is the begynnynge of goddes seruyce, in token that the fyrste openynge of youre lyppes shulde be to the praysinge of god, and al the day after they shulde abyde open, and redy to the same, and be so occupyed and fylled therwyth, that nothyng contrary to hys praysynge might enter in, ne do eny thynge wel eny tyme of the day without hys helpe. But bothe at mattyns and begynnynge of eche houre ye aske hys helpe and saye *Deus in adjutorium meum intende*, that ys, 'God take hede unto my helpe.'' *The Mirrour*, fol. xlj.

[3] Anglo-saxon. *Hig-an*, festinare.

"Thys erchebyssop——he hyed to the kyng." *R. Gloucester*, p. 240. "Highe (hasten) thou to come to me soone." *Wiclif.* 2. Tim. c. 4. (*Richardson.*)

[4] "Thys worde glory ys no comon englyshe, and therfore ye shall understonde that glory ys called a good fame often spoken of with praysynge. Therefore when ye bydde glory to the father, and to the sone, and to the holy goste: ye aske and

holy goost:[5] As it was in the bygynnyng and now and euer and in to the worldis of worldis. So be it.

God make us saaf.[6]

Invit. Heil marie ful of grace, the lord is with thee.[7]

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desyre that the blyssed trynyte shulde alwayes be praysed and thanked, and worshypped, for hys endeles goodnesse that ys in hymselfe, and for all the benefytes, that he hath done and dothe, and shall do to hys creatures." *The Mirrour*, fol. xlj. *b.*

[5] Not only was reverence at these words enjoined in the choirs of abbeys and convents, but there were provincial canons to the same effect. "Quotiesque dicitur Gloria Patri, etc., ad eadem verba Deo humiliter se inclinent." Wilkins, *Concilia*, tom. 3. p. 30.

[6] Instead of this in the later books is "Alleluya:" followed by "¶ *Betwene Septuagesima* (*which begynneth the .iiij. saterday before clene lente*) *and Easter*, *for* Prayse ye the lorde *ye must say* Laude be to the kyng of eternall glorye." As the author of *The Mirrour* says, "In tyme of penaunce we say *Laus tibi* not in joye but in praysynge of god: and not *alleluya*, whiche ys a worde bothe of praysynge and of ioye." fol. xlij.

[7] The "Hail Mary" said in England up to the date of the reformation did not include the second portion now universally added by all Roman Catholics: "Holy Mary, mother of God, pray for us sinners now and at the hour of our death." It is not possible to fix the date of the first use of the angelic salutation as a part of the divine office and of private devotions. A canon of Alexander, bishop of Coventry, early in the fourteenth century orders every one who says the hours to repeat the Hail Mary seven times (once in each hour) and the creed twice. Additions, however, were frequently made: and the author of the "Myroure of oure Ladye" does not seem to approve of them. He writes, "Some saye at the begynnyng of this salutacyon, *Aue benigne Jesu*, and some saye after Maria, *Mater dei*, wyth other addycyons at the ende also. And suche thynges may be sayde when folke saye theyr Aues of theyr owne deuocyon. But in the seruyce of the chyrche I trowe yt be moste sewer and moste medefull to obeye to the comon vse of saynge, as the chyrche hath set, without all suche addicions. If ye will say the crede at the begynnyng of matyns and of complyn yt ys well done." fol. xl.

Ps. Venite.

COME ye make we fulout ioie to the lord: hertili synge we to god oure heelthe. Bifore occupie we his face in knowelechynge: and hertili synge we to him in salmys.

Heil marie ful of grace, the lord is with thee.

For god is a greet lord and a greet kyng, aboue alle goddis: for the lord schal not putte awey his peple, for alle the eendis of the erthe ben in his hond: and he biholdeth the hiȝnessis of hillis.

The lord is with thee.

For the see is his and he made it: and hise hondis formeden the drie lond. Come ye herie[8] we and falle we down bifore god, wepe we bifore the lord that made us: for he is oure lord god, and we his peple and the scheep of his pasture.[9]

Heil marie ful of grace, the lord is with thee.

ȝif[10] ye haue herd his voice to day, nyl[11] ye make hard youre hertis: as in terringe[12] to wrathe bi the

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[8] *Hérian.* A. S. To praise, commend. Laudare.

[9] "For he fedeth vs wyth pasture of hys holy sacramentes, and of hys holy worde, and of hys comfortable grace, and hath ordeyned vs to haue hymselfe to our endeles refeccyon in blysse, yf we be hys trew sheepe." *The Mirrour*, fol. xliv. *b.* The author continues his comparison into most minute particulars: "Fruytefulle in wolle of vertues, and in mylke of pyte, and in lambren of gode dedes, and in dongue of mekenes, and in flesshe of charite and deuocyon." The whole exposition is worth reading.

[10] *Gif, gyf.* A. S. If.

[11] A. S. *Nillan*, nolle.

"But whanne the word was herd that was seide Ihesus seyde to the prince of the synagogue *nyle* thou drede, oonli beleeve thou." *Wiclif.* Mark. c. 5. (Richardson.)

[12] *Tirian.* A. S. To provoke. Exasperare.

daie of temptacioun in desert, where youre fadris temptiden me, thei proueden and siȝen my werkis.

The lord is with thee.

Fourti yeer I was nyȝ to this generacion: and I seide euer more thei erren in herte, forsothe thei knewen not my weies, to whiche I swore in myn wrathe thei schulen not entre into my reste.

Heil marie ful of grace, the lord is with thee.

Glorie be to the fadir and to the sone and to the hooli goost. As it was in the bigynning and now and euermore and in to the worldis of worldis. So be it.

The Lord is with thee.

Heil marie ful of grace, the Lord is with thee.

Ym. Quem terra.[18]

The claustur of marie berith him gouernyge the

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[18] ¶ *The Hympne.*

The gouernoure of the tryple engyn,
Whome the earth, the see, and the heuyns dothe honour,
Conceyued is in the wombe of a vyrgyn,
Whose name is mary, by goddes hyghe power.
(2) A maydens wombe immaculate and pure
Hym hathe conceyued, withoute spote or cryme:
To whome the sonne and mone & euery creature
Do serue alwaye in theyr course and tyme.
(3) Blessyd is that mother replenyshed with grace,
In whose wombe, the creatoure immortall
Hath nat disdayned to take hys place,
Holdynge in hys hande the worlde ouer all.
(4) Of the heuenly messanger, blessyd is she,
Troughe the grace of the holy ghoste inspyred,
For out of her wombe proceded he,
Whome all the nacyons of the worlde desyred.

Prymer, edit. 1538.

Instead of this hymn the prymer of 1545 "set foorth by the kynge's maiestie, &c." has "*Jam lucis orto sydere*":—

threfold crafti werk:[14] whom the erthe the see and the eyr worchipen, honouren and prechen.

The bowelis of the maiden child beryn him to whom the moone and the sunne and alle thingis seruen bi tymes: bi the grace of heuene perfytli heeld out.

Blessid modir bi goddis ȝifte, in whos wombe was closid he that is hiȝest in all craftis and holdith the world in his fist.

"Nowe the chereful day doeth
    spryng,
Unto god praye we and syng:
That in al workes of the daye,
He preserue and kepe vs aye.
(2) That our tongue he maye
    refrayne,
From all stryfe and wordes vayne:
Kepe our eyes in couerture,
From al yll and vayne pleasure.
(3) That oure heartes be voyded
    quyte,
From phansy and fond delyght:
Thinne diet, of drynke and meate,
Of the fleshe to cool the heate.
(4) That when the daye hence
    doth wende,
And the course the nyghte doeth
    sende:
By forbearing worldly thyng,
Glory to God we maye syng."

Versions in metre or rhyme are frequently found in English manuscripts of parts of the various services. They are inserted between treatises, or written on blank leaves at the beginning or end. In the Harleian MS. 45 is a translation of the eight anthems, O Sapientia, O adonai, O radix, etc. Each has the Latin also: and we may quote the first of these:

"O Sapientia, quæ ex ore altissimi prodisti,
Attingens a fine usque ad finem
    fortiter,
Suaviter disponens disponensque
    omnia,
Veni ad docendum nos viam
    prudentiæ."
"O sapientia of ye fader sur-
    mountyng all thyng,
Procedyng from his mowth his
    hestis to fulfill,
Alpha and Oo both end and
    begynnyng,
From end so to end dost atteyn
    and tyll,
Disposyng ich werk swetly at
    his wyll,
We the besiche lord w^t humble
    reuerence,
Come þ^u and teche us þe ways
    of prudence."

fol. 168.

[14] Or, as in the note above, *the tryple engyn*: that is, as the old commentator in the Mirrour writes, "heuen, erthe, and helle." fol. cxxiiij.

She is blessid and fulfillid of the hooli goost, bi the message of heuene: of whom he that is desired to folkis of kynde is ȝotun oute bi the wombe.

Glorie be to thee lord, that art borun of a maide: with the fadir and the hooli goost, in to euerlastynge worldis. So be it.

Thou art blessed.

Ps. Domine dominus.[15]

LORD, oure lord: thi name is wondirful in al erthe.

For thi greet doyng is reisid: aboue heuenes.

Of the mouth of ȝonge chyldren not spekynge, and soukynge mylk, thou madist perfytli heriyng for thine enemyes that thou destrie the enmy and the wreker.[16]

For I schal se thin heuenes the werkis of thy fingris: the moone and the sterris whiche thou hast foundid.

What is a man that thou art myndeful of him: ethir the sone of a virgyn that thou visitist him.

Thou hast maad him a litil lesse than aungels: thou hast crouned him with glorie and honoure:

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[15] "*P*[*salmus*] *Domine dominus noster*. Lord oure lord what thi name is wonderful in alle þe erthe.

For thi mechelnesse is lifted up abouene heuenes.

Of þe mouþ of nat speking and soukinge . þou hast ful maad preisinge for þin enimis . þat þou destroie þe enemy and the wrekere.

. . . . .

Thou hast lassed hym a litel fro angeles . wiþ joie and honour þou hast crowned hym : and þou haste sette hym aboue þe werkes of thin handes," etc. MS. prymer in British museum. Additional, 27592.

[16] *Wrécan.* A.S. To avenge or revenge.

"And of our bones some *wreaker* may there spring." *Surrey, Virgile.* (*Richardson.*)

and hast ordeyned him aboue the werkis of thin hondis.

Thou hast maad suget alle thingis undir hise feet: alle scheep and oxis ferthermore and the beestis of the feld.

The briddis of the eir and the fiȝshis of the see: that passen bi the pathes of the see.

Lord oure lord, thi name is wondirful in al erthe.

Glorie be to the fadir.

As it was in the begynnyng.

Ps. Celi enar.

HEUENES tellen out the glorie of god: and the firmament tellith the werk of hise hondes.

The day tellith out to the day a word: and the nyȝt shewith out kunnyng to the nyȝt.

No langages ben, nether wordis: of whiche the voicis of hem ben not herd.

The soun of hem ȝede out in to al erthe: and the wordis of hem in to the endis of the world.

In the sunne he hath sett his tabernacle: and he as a spouse comynge forth of his chaumbre.

He fully ioide as a giaunt to renne his weie: his goyng out was fro hiȝeste heuene.

And his goyng agen was to the hiȝeste therof: and noon is that hidith himsilf fro his heete.

The lawe of the lord is without wem,[17] and conuertith soulis: the witnessyng of the lord is feithful, and gyueth wisdom to litle children.

The riȝtfulnessis of the lord ben riȝtful, gladynge

[17] *Wemman.* A. S. To corrupt. *Wem:* macula, labes. A spot, a blot.
"That thou kepe the commaundement without *wemme*, without repreef into the comyng." *Wiclif.* 1. Timo. c. 6. (*Richardson.*)

hertis: the comaundement of the lord is cleer, liȝtnynge iȝen.

The holi drede of the lord dwellith into world of world: the domes of the lord ben trewe iustified in to hemsilf.

Desirable more than gold and a stone myche precious: and swetter than hony, and hony coomb.

For whi? thi seruaunt kepith tho: moche ȝelding[18] is in tho to be kept.

Who undirstondith trespassis, make thou me clene fro my pryue synnes: and of alien synnes spare thi seruaunt.

If the forseid defautis ben not lord of me, thanne I schal be witoute wem: and I schal be clensid of the moost synne.

And the spechis of my mouth schulen be that tho plese: and the thenkyng of myn herte euer in thi sight.

Lord, myn helper: and myn aȝenbier.[19]

Glorie be.

Ps. Domini est.

THE erthe and the fulnesse therof is the lordis: the world and alle that dwellyn therinne is the lordis.

For he foundide it on the sees: and maad it redi on the flodis.

Who schal stiȝe[20] in to the hil of the lord? eithir who schal stonde in the hooli place of him?

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[18] Reward. A.S. *gieldan, geldan, gildan:* to pay, restore, compensate, give.

[19] Redeemer. Again-buyer. "Knelyng and praienge after thy Lorde thy maker, thyn *ayenbier*, thy love." MS. Bodl. 423. f. 182.

[20] *Stig-an.* A.S. Ascendere, to go up. "And whanne the peple was left, he *stiede* aloone into an hil

The innocent in hondis and in clene herte: whiche toke not his soule in veyn, neithir swoor in gile to his neiȝbor.

This man schal take blessyng of the lord: and merci of god his heelthe.

This is the generacioun of men sekynge him: of men sekynge the face of god of iacob.

Ye pryncis take up your ȝatis: and ye euerlastinge ȝatis be reisid and the kyng of glorie schal entre.

Who is this kyng of glorie: the lord strong and miȝti, the lord miȝti in batel.

Ye princes take up youre ȝatis: and ye euerlastyng ȝatis be reisid: and the king of glorie schal entre.

Who is this kyng of glorie: the lord of vertues, he is kyng of glorie.

Glorie be to. As it.

Ant.[21] Blessid be thou among wymmen and blessid be the fruyt of thi wombe.

Versus. Hooli goddis modir euer maide marie.

Resp. Bidde for us to the lord oure god.[22]

Oure fadir. Heil marie.

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for to preie." *Wiclif.* Matt. c. 14. (*Richardson.*)

[21] In the prymer of 1545 the anthem is from Heb. vij. *Christus salvos facere.* Christ is of power. &c. Followed by the Lord's prayer and "¶ *The Blessyng.* The euerlastyng father blesse us with his blessyng euerlastyng. Amen."

[22] "Bide for us to þe lord oure god.

Pater. Fader oure þat art in heuenes halwed be þi name. þi kindom come to. þi wille be do in erthe as in heuene. oure echedaies brede ȝife us to dai. and forȝife us oure dettes as we forȝife to oure dettours. and leed us nat in to temptacioun. bote deliuere us from Iuel. amen.

Aue maria gracia. Heil marie ful of grace oure lord is wiþ þe. blessed be þou among alle wymmen. and blessed be þe fruit of thi wombe. ihesus. amen. And lede us nat in to temptacioun. bot deliuere us from Iuel. Amen." Add. MS. 27592.

Versus. And lede us not in to temptacioun.

Resp. But delyuer us fro yuel.

Versus. Lord comaunde us to blesse.

Benisoun. Hooli maide of maidens praie for us to the lord. So be it.

The first lessoun. Sancta maria.[23]

SEYNT marie maide of maidens, modir and douȝtir of the kyng of kyngis: solace us that we moun haue bi thee the meede of heuenli kingdom and with the chosen of god regne withouten ende.

Thou, lord, haue merci on us.

Thanke we god.

Resp.[24] Hooli maidenhood and with oute wem: I noot[25] what preising I may seie to thee. For him that heuenes myȝten not take thou beer in thi wombe.

Vers. Blessid be thou among alle wymmen: and blessid be the fruyt of thi wombe.

Repeet. For him that heuene myȝt not take, thou beer in thi wombe.

Vers. Lord commaunde us to blesse.

Benisoun.[26] Maide marie praie for us with meke thouȝte. So be it.

ij lect.[27]

SEYNT marie moost piteuous of alle piteuouse wymmen: hoolieste of alle hooly wymmen;

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[23] "*The first lesson.* Egredietur virga. A rod shall come furth of the stock of Jesse. &c." 1545.

[24] All these omitted in 1545. So also those below.

[25] "I wote nat." edit. 1538.

[26] "The blessyng. God the sonne of God, vouchesafe to blesse and succour us." 1545.

[27] "*lectio ij*a
Seinte marie mekest of alle mek wymmen prai for us holiest of alle holy wymmen. þat by þe maiden he tak oure praiers. þat for us was boren and regneþ abouen heuenes. þat by his [charite oure] synnes be forȝifen us.
þou lord haue [mercy on] us.
þanke we god."
Add. MS. 27592.

preie for us that bi thee maiden he take oure synnes: that for us was born and regneth aboue heuenes: that bi his charite our synnes be forgouun to us.

Thou, lord, haue merci on us.

Thanke we god.

Resp. Blessid thou art maide marie, that baar the lord maker of the world: thou hast engenderid him that made thee, and thou dwellist mayde with outen ende.

Vers. Heil marie ful of grace, the lord is with thee.

Repet. Thou hast engendrid him that made thee, and thou dwellist mayde with outen ende.

Vers. Lord, comaunde us to blesse.

Benisoun.[28] Goddis hooli modir be helper to us. So be it.

iij lect.[29]

HOOLI modir of god, that deseruedist worthili to conceyue him that al the world myȝte not holde: with thi meek bisechynge waische awei oure giltis, that wee aȝenbouȝt[30] bi thee mouȝt stiȝe up to the ceete of endeles blesse: there thou dwellist with thi sone withouten tyme.

Thou, lord, haue merci on us.

Thanke we god.

Resp. Cely[31] art thou, hooli virgyne marie, and worthiest al maner preisyng. For of thee is risun the sunne of riȝtwisnesse, crist oure god.

Vers. Preie for the peple: bidde for the clergie: biseche

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[28] "The blessyng. The grace of the holy gost illumine us in heart and body. Amen." 1545.

[29] "Dixit autem Maria. Then sayd Mari to the Aungel. &c." 1545.

[30] "Thou were leder in thi merci to thi puple, the whiche thou agenboughtist." *Wiclif.* MS. Bodl. 277.

[31] A.S. sǽlig; without guile; simple; blessed. "Felix namque es, sacra virgo Maria." The Cambridge MS. reads: "Sikirli maide marie thou art holi and worthi to haue al maner preisinge."

for the devoute womman kynde: lete alle fele thin help: that worthili maken mynde of thee.

Repet. For of thee is born the sunne of riȝtwisnesse, crist oure god.

Glorie be to the fadir and to the sone and to the hooli goost.

Repet. Crist oure god.

Ps. Te deum laudamus.[32]

WE herien thee god: we knowlechyn thee lord.[33] Thee, euerlastynge fadir: al the erthe worchipith.

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[32] "¶ *The praise of God, the Father, the sonne, and the holy gost.*" 1545. "¶ The songe of Austyn and Ambrose." 1538. and others.—"Comitatus mox turbis conventus procedit in oratorium, et *Ambrosianum* illum sollenniter prosequitur laudis hymnum." Hist. Croylandensis contin. *Rerum Angl. script. Fulman.* tom. i. 541.

"Te deum laudamus. Saynt Austyn and saynt Ambrose made fyrste thys Hympne. For after saint Austyn had lyued not only out of crysten faythe, but also as an herytyke, and an enmy of cristen byleue, tyl he was aboute thyrty yere of age, And then by the prayer of hys mother, and by prechynge of saynte Ambrose was conuerted unto the ryghte faythe. When saynte Ambrose had baptized hym, he gaue thankynges to god and sayde, *Te deum laudamus.* And saynt Austyn answered *Te dominum confitemur.* And then saynte Ambrose, *Te eternum patrem omnis terra veneratur.* And then saynt Austyn the nexte verse: and so fourthe, the tone one verse, and the tother a nother vnto the ende, as the feruente grace of the holy gooste wroughte in theyre soulles, and enfourmed theyr tongues." *Mirrour of oure Ladye*, fol. lxij.

Whosoever was the author or authors of this most noble hymn, it is certain that in the fifth and sixth centuries it was already known. The rule of St. Benedict orders it to be sung after the fourth response: and another writer, Teredius, in the sixth century makes mention of it. The general opinion seems to be that St. Ambrose was the sole author: but Herman Daniel, whose very learned disquisition should be consulted (*Thes. hymnol.* vol. 2. 279–299), supposes that it was adopted into the Latin church from the east.

This hymn has always been

To thee alle aungelis: to thee heuenes and alle maner poweris.

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sung at matins during the greatest part of the year by the Catholic church. The practice anciently was, if in choir, that the priest should begin the first verse and the hymn was then continued alternately by the rest, usually standing. At the first verse the heads were uncovered unto "Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus." At "non horruisti virginis uterum" all made a profound inclination. From "Te ergo quæsumus" to the end all knelt. Bellarmin has said that Luther, in order that he might be as different in practice as possible from the Catholic church, would not have the Te Deum sung in the morning service but in the evening. *Controv.* tom. iv. p. 436. This however seems to have been a mistake of the learned cardinal: at least Herman Daniel denies it. But this latter acknowledges that the Te Deum is now very rarely sung in the Lutheran congregations: and, if attempted, only miserably. "Si recitatur misere claudicant et hæsitant canendo."

In the appendix, the reader will find two other early translations of the *Te Deum*, from the *Douce* MSS. in the Bodleian library. The Cambridge manuscript prymer agrees chiefly with the *Douce*, 275.

[22] "*Psalmus. Te deum laudamus.*

The god we preise . þee lord we knowleche.

The endeles fader eueri erthe worschipeþ.

To the alle angels to þe heuenes and alle manere poweres.

To the cherubin and seraphin crieþ wiþ vois wiþ outen cessinge.

Holy . Holy . Holy . Lord god of ostis.

Heuenes and erthe ben ful of mageste of thi glorie.

The þe glorious compainie of apostles.

The þe preisable noumbre of prophetes.

The preiseþ þe white ost of martires.

The holi churche knowlecheþ þoruȝ alle þe world.

Fader of riȝt grete mageste.

And þi soþfast worschipful only sone.

And the holi gost oure comfortour.

Thou king of glorie crist.

Thou art þe endeles sone of þe fader.

Thou were nat skoymes to take þe maidenes wombe . forto deliuer mankende.

Whan þou haddest ouer come þe scharpnesse of deþ . þou openedest þe kingdomes of heuenes to hem þat bileueden in þe.

To thee cherubyn and seraphym: crien with uncecynge vois.

Hooli, Hooli, Hooli: Lord god of vertues.

Heuenes and erthe ben ful: of the mageste of thi glorie.

Thee, the glorious cumpany of apostlis.

Thee, the preisable noumbre of profetis.

Thee preisith the white oost of martirs.

Thee hooli chirche knowlechith throuȝ al the world.

Fadir of riȝt greet mageste.

Thi worshipful, verrei, and oonli sone.

And the hooli goost oure counfortour.

Thou, crist, kyng of glorie.

Thou art the endeles sone of the fadir.

Thou were not skoymus[84] of the maidens wombe to delyuer mankynde.

For thou ouercamest the sharpnesse of deeth: thou openedist to men that bileeueden in thee the kyngdoms of heuenes.

Thou sittist on goddis riȝt syde, in the ioie of the fadir.

Thou art bileeued to be juge to come.

Therfor we preien the, helpe thou thy seruauntis: that thou hast bouȝt with thi precious blood.

Thou sittest on godes riȝt side . in þe ioie of the fader.

We bileuen þat thou schalt come to be oure iuge.

Therfor we biseche the help thi seruauntes. þat þou hast bouȝt with þi precious blood.

Make hem to be rewarded wiþ þi seintes in endeles blisse.

Lord make sauf þi peple . and blesse þin heritage.

Gouerne hem and make hem hie wiþ outen ende.

Bi eche dai we blessen to þe.

And we preisen thi name in to þe world . and in to þe world of þe world, etc." Add. MS. 27592.

[84] Squeamish. "Nor of a sight to be ouer squeamous." Chaucer. Sometimes improperly confused with qualmish, A. S. *Cwealm*, subita ægritudo.

Make hem to be rewardid[35] with thi seyntis: in blisse, with euerlastinge glorie.

Lord, make thi peple saaf, and blesse to thin eritage.

And gouerne hem: and make hem hiȝ withouten ende.

We blessen thee bi alle daies.

And we herien thi name into the world: and into the world of world.

Lord, fouche saaf to kepe us to day: with oute synne.

Lord, haue merci on us: haue merci on us.

Lord, be thi merci maad upon us: as we han hopide in thee.

Lord, I haue hopide in thee: be I not schent[36] withouten ende.

Vers. Holi goddis modir preie for us.

Resp. That we be maad worthi to the biheestis of crist.[37]

At laudis.

Deus in adiuto.

GOD, take heede in to myn helpe.

Lord, hiȝe thee to helpe me.

Glorie be to the fadir.

As it was in the begynnyng.

God make me saaf.

Ant. O wondirful.

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[35] "Munerari," rather than the common reading "numerari."

[36] Shamed: *scend-an.* A. S. to marre, to destroy, to dishonour.
"We shall all be shent."
Merry wives of Windsor, act i. sc. iv.
"That was he *shente* on euery side." *Gower*, Confessio amant. b. vij.

[37] "¶ Betwene septuagesima and easter thys psalme folowynge is sayde in stede of *Te Deum.*" Prymer, 1538: and other editions. Then follows the first "Miserere," ps. 50.

Ps. Dominus reg.[38]

THE lord hath regned, he is clothid with fairnesse: the lord is clothid with strengthe and hath gird him silf.

For he maad stidefast the world: that shal not be moued.

For thi ceete was maad redi fro that tyme: thou art fro the world.

Lord, the floodis han reisid: the floodis han reisid her vois.

Floodis reiseden her wawis: of the voicis of many watris.

The reisingis of the see ben wondirful: the lord is wondirful in hiȝe thingis.

Thi witnessyngis ben maad able to be bileeued greetly: lord, hoolynesse bicometh thi hous in to the lengthe of daies.

Glorie be to. As it.

Ps. Jubilate.[39]

AL erthe synge ye hertili to god: serue ye the lord in gladnesse.[40]

Entre ye in his siȝt: in fulout ioyng.

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[38] Ps. lxvj. *Deus misereatur.* God haue mercy vpon vs. 1545.

[39] ¶ *The song of the thre children*, &c. Praise ye the lorde, all the workes of the lorde. 1545.

[40] "Ioieth to god eueri erthe . serueþ to þe lord in gladnes.

Entreth in his siȝt in gladnesse.

Witeth þat the lord he is god . he made us and nat us self us.

His peple and schep of his pasture entreth his ȝates in schrifte his halles in ympnes schrifte ȝe to him.

Preiseth his name . for the lord is softe: his merci is wiþ outen ende . and in to generacioun and generacioun his treuthe." Add. MS. 27592.

Wite ye that the lord him silf is god: he maad us and not we maden us self.

His peple and the sheep of hise lesuwe:[41] entre ye in to hise ȝatis in knowleching: entre ye in to hise porchis, knowleche ye to him in ympnis.

Herie ye his name for the lord is sweete: his merci is withouten ende, and his treuthe is in generacioun and in to generacioun.

Glorie be. As it was.

Ps. Deus deus meus.[42]

GOD, my god I wake to thee ful erly.

My soule thirstide to thee: manyfoold my fleish thristide to thee.

In a lond forsakun withoute weie and withoute watir, so I apperid to thee in hooli:[43] that I schuld se thi vertu and thi glorie.

For thi merci is bettere than lyues: my lippis shulen herie thee.

Lo, I schal blesse thee in my liif: and in thi name I schal reise myn hondis.

My soule be fillid as with inner fatnesse: and my mouth shal herie with lippis and fulout ioiyng.

So I hadde mynde of thee in my bedde, in morwe tydis I shal thenke on thee: for thou were myn helper.

And in the keuering of thi wyngis I shal make ful-

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[41] *Leag-ley.* A.S. Leá, lease. Untilled land. In this place the word may be referred to *Lǽswian:* to pasture cattle: and the noun *Lǽswe*, pasture.

"And he schal go yn and schal go out, and he schal fynde *lesewis.*" *Wiclif.* Iohn. c. 10. (*Richardson.*)

[42] Ps. cxlviij. *Laudate Dominum.* Praise the lorde, ye that be in the heauens. 1545.

[43] "Before thee in an holy place." 1538.

out ioye: my soule cleuyde aftir thee: thi riȝt honde took me up.

Forsothe thei souȝten in veyn my liif, thei shulen entre in to the lower thingis of erthe: thei shulen be bitakun in to the hondis of swerd, thei shulen be maad the partis of foxis.

But the kyng shal be glad in god, and alle men shulen be preisid that sweren in him: for the mouth of hem that speken wickid thingis is stoppid.

Deus misereatur.[44]

GOD haue merci on us and blesse us[45]: liȝtne he his chere[46] on us, and haue merci on us.

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[44] From hence to the anthem omitted in 1545.

[45] "God haue merci of us . and blesse he to us . liȝtne he his face upon us . and haue merci of us.

That we know in erthe þi weie . and alle folkes þin helpe.

Schriuen be þe peples to þe god . alle peples be schriuen to þe.

Ioiful and glade be the folkes for thou demest peples in euenhede and folkes in erthe thou riȝtest.

Peples knowleche to þe god . alle folkes be schrifen to þe . erthe haþ ȝifen his fruit.

Blesse us god oure god blesse us god and drede þei hym alle þe costis of þe erthe."

Add. MS. 27592.

[46] Fr. *Chère.* Ital. *Cera.* Sp. *Cara.* Skinner and Junius think from the Gr. χαίρειν, gaudere. Menage and Du Cange say, from *Cara* the visage, from κάρα, caput. *Cheer* is now applied to that which acts, has an effect upon the face, the countenance.

"For if ony man is an heerer of the word, and not a doer, this schal be likened to a man that biholdith the *cheer* of his birthe in a myrrour." *Wiclif.* James c. 1. (*Richardson.*)

The word was used for many years after: as in the Merchant of Venice:

"Bid your friends welcome,
show a merry cheer;"
Act 3. sc. ij.

And in the Midsummer night's dream:

"All fancy sick she is, and pale
of cheer."
Act 3. sc. ij.

And so late even as Dryden, who says:

"Pale at the sudden sight, she
changed her cheer."

That we knowe thi weie in erthe: thin heelthe in alle folkis.

God, peplis knowleche to thee: all peplis knowleche to thee.

Hethen men be glad and make fulli ioie, for thou demest[47] peplis in equite: and dressist[48] hethen men in erthe.

God, peplis knowleche to thee, alle peplis knowleche to thee: the erthe ȝaf his fruyt.

God oure god blesse us, god blesse us: and alle the coostis of erthe drede him.

Glorie be. As it was.

Benedicite.[49]

ALLE werkis of the lord, blesse ye to the lord: herie ye and ouer hiȝe ye him in all tyme.

Ye aungels of the lord, blesse to the lord: ye heuenes blesse to the lord.

Alle watris that ben aboue heuenes blesse ye to the lord: alle vertues of the lord blesse ye to the lord.

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[47] *Dém-an*, A.S. to judge.

"And *deme* wel and wislyche." *Piers ploughman*, p. 194.

"Nyle ye *deme*, that ghe be not *demed*." *Wiclif*. Matt. c. 7. (*Richardson*.)

[48] "Et gentes in terra dirigis."

"To kepe the londe and *dres* the folk for to justise." *R. Brunne*, p. 327. (*Richardson*.)

[49] Canticum trium puerorum est festivius, et ideo in omnibus festis dicitur. *Gemma animæ*, lib. ii. 53.

See in appendix for another translation of this canticle from one of the Bodleian MSS.

It is a matter of no small difficulty to point out how canticles and hymns differ. Some look to the matter of them, some to the mode in which they are sung. Again, the canticles (as they are commonly called) from the Old Testament vary in their subject: some are joyful: some exulting: some prophetic.

The sunne and the moone blesse ye to the lord: the sterris of heuene blesse ye to the lord.

Reyn and dew blesse ye to the lord: alle spiritis of god blesse ye to the lord.

Fier and heete blesse ye to the Lord: coold and somer blesse ye to the lord.

Dewis and hoore frostis blesse ye to the lord: frost and coold blesse ye to the lord.

Isis and snowis blesse ye to the lord: nyȝtis and daies blesse ye to the lord.

Liȝt and derknesse blisse ye to the lord: liȝtnyngis and cloudis blesse ye to the lord.

The erthe blesse it to the lord: preise and ouerhiȝe it him withouten end.

Hillis both more and lesse blesse ye to the lord: alle that buriownen [50] in erthe blesse ye to the lord.

Wellis blesse ye to the lord: sees and floodis blesse ye to the lord.

Whallis and alle that mouen in watris blesse ye to the lord: alle foulis of heuene blesse ye to the lord.

Alle kynde of beestis blesse ye to the lord: mennes sones blesse ye to the lord.

Folkis of israel blesse ye to the lord: herie and ouerhiȝe it him in to worldis.

Prestis of the lord blesse ye to the lord: seruauntis of the lord blesse ye to the lord.

Spiritis and soulis of riȝtful men blesse ye to the lord: hooli and meke of herte blesse ye to the lord.

Ananye, azarie, and mysael blesse ye to the lord: preise ye him and ouerhiȝe ye him for euermore.

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[50] "Benedicite universa germinantia in terra domino." "All that spryngeth upon the earth." edit. 1538, and others. "Buriownen," from the French *bourgeonner*, to germinate.

Blesse we the fadir and the sone with the hooli goost: preise we and ouerhiȝe we him with outen ende.

Blessid art thou lord in the firmament of heuene: thou art to be preisid and glorious and ouerhiȝed for euermore. Amen.[51]

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[51] The early printed horæ and prymers do not add *Amen*: and possibly in the MS. from which the text is taken it was an error. Amalarius, lib. 4. c. x, particularly notes that Amen was not said in his time at the end of this hymn.

The version which is in the Common prayer book of the reformed church of England omits the last two verses and adds the usual doxology, "Glory be to the Father, &c." This is quite contrary to the ancient rubrics which forbid the use of the doxology and added instead the two verses, "Benedicamus Patrem et Filium cum sancto Spiritu: laudemus et superexaltemus eum in sæcula. Benedictus es Domine in firmamento cœli: et laudabilis et gloriosus et superexaltatus in sæcula." The prymer of 1545 made no alteration in this respect: nor did that of king Edward in 1547. They were first omitted and the other put in their place (I believe) in the Common prayer book of 1549. It is worth remark as to the *Amen* that the English prymers of king Henry, 1545, omit it: the Latin (called Orarium) has it: the editions with both versions in parallel columns add "Amen" to the Latin only. The ancient addition is said to have been made by pope Damasus. *Clichtoveus, Elucidatorium eccles.* 87.

The "Mirrour" says, "God kepte the thre chyldren in the fyre unhurte, and there they made and songe thys psalme *Benedicite*. And lyke wyse in tyme of antycryste they that wyll not worshypp hym shall suffer the greatest persecucyon that euer was done to crysten people. But god of hys specyall mercy and grace shall kepe hys chosen, in that fyre of tribulacyon unhurte. And in token therof is thys psalme songe at laudes wythoute *Gloria patri*. For the greatnesse of that persecucyon shall lette the open praysynge of god, that ys used in holy chyrche. And yet tho few that shall then abyde in trew faythe and charite, shall not cease of goddes praysyng. And therfore the laste verse of the psalme saue one ys of the same sentence that *Gloria patri* ys, but not of the same wordes." fol. lxvij.

"The Mirrour of oure Lady"

Ps. Laudate dominum de celis.

YE of heuenes herieth the lord: herie ye him into hiȝe thingis.

Alle hise aungels herie ye him: alle hise vertues herie ye him.

Sunne and moone herie ye him: alle sterris and liȝt herie ye him.

Heuenes of heuenes herie ye him: and the watris that ben aboue heuenes herieth ye the name of the lord.

For he seide and thingis weren maad: he comaundide and thingis weren maad of nouȝt.

He ordeynede tho thingis in to the world, and in to the world of world:[52] he settide a comaundement, and it schal not passe.

Ye of erthe herieth the lord: dragons and alle depthis of watris.

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is a volume of no little importance, and we shall be further indebted to it. The book was compiled for the use of the sisters of the nunnery of Syon, in Middlesex. This was a convent of the order of St. Bridget, the only one in England; founded by Henry the fifth in 1413. The community still exists, having continued through centuries of trouble and persecution. Their history may be seen in the *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. vj. p. 540; how they were driven from their abbey among the earliest of the great houses, restored by queen Mary, and expelled again by queen Elizabeth: how they fled from place to place on the continent until they settled in Lisbon, where, struggling on against losses (not the least of which was caused by the earthquake of 1755), they remained until driven out by the army under the duke of Wellington: how, finally, the sisters returned in 1810 to England and after some short residences in three or four towns at last settled at Spetisbury, in Dorsetshire: where they are now "the last remnant of an English convent dissolved in the time of Henry the eighth."

[52] "Statuit ea in æternum, et in sæculum sæculi."

Fier, hail, iys, snow: spiritis of tempestis that doen his wille.

Mounteyns and alle litle hillis: and trees berynge fruyt and alle cedris.

Wilde bestis and alle tame beestis; serpentis and fetheride briddis.

The kingis of erthe and alle peplis: the pryncis and alle jugis of erthe.

Yonge men and virgyns, olde men with yonger, herie ye the name of the lord: for the name of him aloone is enhauncede.

His knowlechynge be on heuene and erthe: and he hath enhaunsid the horn of his peple.

An ympne be to alle hise seyntis: to the children of israel, to a peple neiȝynge[53] to him.

Cantate domino canticum.

SYNGE ye to the lord a newe songe: his heriyng be in the chirche of seyntis.[54]

Israel be glad in him that made him: and the douȝtris of syon make fulout ioie in her kynge.

Herie thei his name in a cornmuce:[55] seye thei salm to him in a tympane and sautre.

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[53] *Nehwan.* A.S. to approach, to come close to.

"Eyue wynter holy lasted that werre,
That neuer Eilred our kyng durst *negh* him nerre."
R. Brunne, p. 41.

"For saufe of cherles I ne vouch,
That they shall never *neigh* it nere." *Chauc.* Romance of the rose. (*Richardson.*)

[54] "Laus ejus in ecclesia sanctorum." "The prayse of hym is in the congrecacyon of sayntis." *Prymer*. 1538. and others.

[55] "Laudent nomen ejus in choro." Of the MSS. in the Bodleian, three, viz. the two *Douce*, and *Bodl.* 85, read "in a *croude*;" i.e. fiddle or viol, and the fourth, *Rawlinson*, 699, in "a *queer*." This last is the reading also of the Cambridge MS. Three MSS. of Wicliffe's version, which have been examined, also

For the lord is wel plesid in his peple: and he hath reisid mylde men in to heelthe.

Seyntis shulen make fuloute ioie in glorie: thei shulen be glad in her beddis.

The fulout ioiyngis of god be in the throtis of hem: and swerd sharp in eche side in the hondis of hem.

To do veniaunce in naciouns: blamyngis[56] in peplis.

To bynde the kyngis of hem in feteris: and the noble men of hem in irone maniclis.

That thei make in hem doom writun: this is the glorie to alle hise seyntis.[57]

Laudate dominum in.

HERIETH the lord in hise seyntis: herie ye him in the firmament of his vertu.

Herie ye him in hise vertues: herie ye him bi the multitude of his greetnesse.

Herie ye him in the sown of a trumpe: herie ye him in a sautre and harpe.

Herie ye him in a tympan and a cornmuse: herie ye him in strengis[58] and organ.

Herie ye him in symbalis sownynge wel: herie ye him in symbalis of iubilacion, ech spirit herie the lord.

Glorie be to.

---

translate "a queer." The cornmuce is a bagpipe.

The prymer of 1538 translates, "Let them prayse his name with daunsynge."

[56] "Increpationes in populis." "And correccyons upon people." *Prymer*. 1538. and others.

[57] Some editions of the horæ and prymers add here, as well as to the next psalm, the "Gloria patri."

[58] "Laudate eum in chordis et organo." "Prayse him with rebeckes and organs." *Prymer*. 1538. and others.

Ant. O admirabile.

O THE wondirful marchaundise,[59] the maker of mankynde takynge a bodi with a soule of a maide, fouchide saaf to be born, and so goynge forth man withoute seed ȝaf to us his godhede.

Capitulum. Maria virgo.

MARIE mayde euer be glad: that disseruedist[60] to bere crist, maker of heuene and of erthe: for of thi wombe thou brouȝtist forth the sauyour of the world. Thanke we god.

Ympne. O gloriosa.[61]

O THOU gloriouse ladi, hiȝ aboue the sterris: him that maad thee of nouȝt wiseli thou ȝeue souke with thin hooli teete.

That dreri eue dide awei, thou ȝeldist with hooly buriownynge:[62] wepers entre in as sterris, thou art maad wyndow of heuene.

Thou the wyke ȝaat of the hiȝ king:[63] the greet shynynge ȝaat of light: folkis ioie the ȝouun liif, aȝen bouȝt bi the mayde.[64]

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[59] "O admirabile commercium." "O wonderful exchaunge." *Prymers* of 1538. 1545. and others.

[60] "Quæ meruisti." The later printed prymers, and that of 1545, omit this. They translate "which hast borne Christ."

[61] The king's prymer of 1545 instead of this hymn has "Ales diei nuntius, &c." "The birde of day messinger, croweth and sheweth that light is nere."

[62] See note 50. The Latin is: "Quod Eua tristis abstulit, Tu reddis almo germine: Intrent ut astra flebiles, Cæli fenestra facta es."

[63] "Tu regis alti janua." "Thou arte the dore of the heuenly kynge." *Prymer*. 1531. and others.

[64] "Vitam datam per virginem, Gentes redemptæ plaudite." "Syns a vyrgyn lyfe doth bryng, Ye redemed people, reioyse and syng." *Prymer*. 1538.

Glorie be to thee lord, thou art born of a mayde : with the fadir and the hooli goost in to euerlastynge worldis. Amen.

Vers.[65] God chees hir, and bifore chees hir.[66]
Resp. He made hir for to dwelle in his tabernacle.
Ant. O thou glorious.

Ps. Benedictus dominus.[67]

BLESSID be the lord god of israel: for he hath visitide and maad redempcioun of his peple.

And he hath reride up the horn of heelthe to us : in the hous of dauid his child.

As he hath spoke bi the mouth of seyntis : whiche fro the world ben of his profetis.

Heelthe of oure enmyes : and of the hond of alle that hatiden us.

Merci to be don with oure fadris : and to haue mynde of his hooli testament.

The ooth that he swoor to abraham oure fadir : to ȝyue him silf to us.

That we with drede delyuerid fro oure enemyes hondis : serue to him.

---

[65] This verse, response, and anthem omitted in the king's prymer.

[66] "Elegit eam Deus, et præelegit eam." "God hath her chosen, all other before." *Prymer.* 1538. and others.

[67] "Ye haue in youre seruice thre gospels, that ys, *Benedictus*, and *Magnificat*, and *Nunc dimittis :* and all thre are songe standynge for reuerence of the gospel. These songes are not songe in the same order that they were made, for *Magnificat* was made first, and then *Benedictus*, and laste, *Nunc dimittis.* But *Benedictus* is songe fyrst. For yt maketh mynde of saynt John baptyste, whiche was the forgoer of oure lorde Jesu cryste.—And also for this beginneth with praysyng and thankeyng of god for the redempcyon of mankynde." *Mirrour*, fol. lxx. *b.*

In hoolynesse and riȝtfulnesse bifore him: in alle oure daies.

And thou, child, shalt be clepide[68] of the hiȝest: for thou shalt go bifore the face of the lord to make redy hise weies.

Kunnynge[69] of heelthe to be ȝouun to his folk: and forȝeuenesse of her synnes.

Thurȝ the entrailis of mercy of oure god: in whiche he hath visitide us comynge fro an hiȝ.

To ȝeue liȝt to hem that sitten in derknessis, and in schadowe of deeth: oure feet to be dressid in to the weie of pees.

Glorie be to the fadir. As it was.

Ant. O gloriosa.[70]

O THOU gloriouse modir of god, euer mayde that disseruedist to bere the lord of alle thingis:[71] and thou mayde aloone to ȝeue souke to the king of angels: thou piteuous we bisechen haue mynde on oure preiers:[72] and herteli preie euer to crist for us, that we hulpun bi thi bisechingis moun deserue to come to heuenli kingdoms.

Vers. Lord shewe to us thi merci.

Respons. And ȝeue to us thi saluacioun.[73]

Oremus. preie we.

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[68] *Cleopian, clypian,* A. S. to call, to call upon.

"Upon the pleyn of Salisbury that other wonder ys,
That Stonhyngel is *yclepud,* no more wonder nys." *R. Gloucester*, p. 7. (*Richardson.*)

[69] "As we ben clerkes ycnowen, cunnyng in scole." *Piers ploughman. Crede.*

"And eschewe thou foltische questiouns and withouten *kunnynge.*" *Wiclif.* 2 Timo. c. 2. (*Richardson.*)

[70] In the place of this, the king's prymer has "Beati qui audiunt." "Blessed be thei, that heare the worde of God and kepe the same."

[71] "Quæ Dominum omnium meruisti portare." "Which dyddest beare the lorde of alle lordes." *Prymer.* 1538. and others. Compare note 60.

[72] "Nostri quæsumus pia memorare."

[73] Retained in the present Common prayer book:—

Oratio.[74] *Concede nos.*

LORD god we preien thee, graunte us thi seruauntis that we moun be ioiful euermore in heelthe of soule and of bodi, and that we moun be delyuered of this sorowe, that we han now: thourȝ the instaunce of the glorious euerlastinge maide marie:[75] and fulli use[76] the ioye withouten ende. Bi oure lord iesu crist[77] thi sone, that with thee lyueth and regneth in oonhede of the hooly goost god bi alle worldis of worldis. So be it.

Blesse we the lord. Thankis to god.[78]

Ant. Hooli goost, come fulfille the hertis of thi feithful seruauntis: and liȝtne the fier of thi loue in hem.

Vers. Sende out thi goost, and thei schulen be maad.[79]

Resp. And thou shalt make newe the face of the erthe.

"O Lord, shew thy mercy upon us.

Answer. And grant us thy salvation."

74 "Orisons are sayd in the ende of eche houre, for the apostels when euer they were togyder, they kneled downe on theyr knees, and prayed or they departed a sonder." *The Mirrour*, fol. lxxij.

75 "Et gloriosa beatæ Mariæ semper virginis intercessione." "Through the gracious intercessyon of the virgyn thy mother." *Prymer*. 1538. "of the vyrgyn Mary." *Prymer*. 1543. "The gratious virgyn Mari praiyng for us." *King's prymer*. 1545.

76 "Perfrui." "Haue the fruycyon." *Prymer*. 1538. etc.

77 The later horæ and printed prymers end here: simply adding *Amen*.

78 Omitted in the king's prymer.

79 This verse and response omitted in 1545. The Latin is, "℣. Emitte spiritum tuum et creabuntur. ℟. Et renovabis faciem." The later prymers render it: "Sende forthe thy spiryte and they shall reuyue. And the face of the earthe shall renewe belyue." Queen Mary's prymer again returns nearer to the old translation: "And the face of the yearth, thou shalt renue."

Preie we. *The hooli goost. Deus qui do.*[80]

GOD, that tauȝtist the hertis of thi feithful seruauntis bi the liȝtnynge[81] of the hooli goost: graunte us to sauore riȝtful thingis in the same goost, and to be ioiful euermore of his counfort. Bi crist oure lord. So be it.

Libera nos. Ant. Blissid trinyte delyuer us: saue us and iustifie us.

Vers. The name of the lord be blessid.[82]

Resp. Fro this now and unto the world.

To the hooli trinyte.[83]

EUERLASTYNGE almyȝti god that ȝaue us thi seruauntis in knowlechynge of verrei feith to knowe the glorie of the endeles trinite, and in the

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[80] Qui *docuisti.* But the prayer commonly begins "Deus qui corda fidelium."

[81] "Illustratione." "Inspiracyon," 1538. "Information," 1545.

[82] This verse and response omitted in 1545.

[83] This collect was appointed for Trinity sunday in the missals according to the uses of Sarum, York, Hereford, and Bangor. The Latin is: "Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui dedisti famulis tuis, in confessione veræ fidei æternæ Trinitatis gloriam agnoscere, et in potentia majestatis adorare unitatem: quæsumus, ut ejusdem fidei firmitate ab omnibus semper muniamur adversis. Qui vivis et regnas Deus." Mr. Palmer (Orig. lit. vol. i. 342) edits the last clause "semper muniemur adversis. Per Dominum nostrum." The other however is the reading of the earliest printed editions of the Sarum missal and the Hereford, of the horæ, the primers of 1538, 1543, 1545, and others. The York and Bangor missals have "in qua vivis, et regnas." With which agrees also a later edition of the Salisbury use, 4to. 1509; and probably others: but all have "muniamur."

The following is the version of the Cambridge MS.: "Almyghti euerlastynge god, that gauest us thi seruauntis in knouleching of trewe feith to knowe the ioie of the endeles trinite, and in the myght of the maiestie to worschip the oonhede: we bisechen bi the sadnesse of that selue bileue, we be kept and defendid of alle

miȝt of mageste to worchipe thee in oonheede :[84] we bisechen that bi the sadness[85] of the same feith we be kept and defendid euermore fro alle aduersitees. Bi crist.

Ant. Nos autem. For soth us bihoueth to haue ioie in the crosse of oure lord iesu crist.

Vers. Alle erthe worshipe thee god.[86]

Resp. And synge it to thee, I shal seie salm to thi name.

Preie we. *bi the passioun.*

GOD, that stiȝedist[87] thin hooli cros and liȝtnedist derknissis of the world: fouche thou saaf to liȝtne oure hertis and bodies. Bi crist.[88]

Ant.[89] *Michael.* Miȝhel arkaungel come thou in help with the peple of god.

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aduersites, bi crist oure lord. Amen."

The prymer of 1538 translates: "Almyghty and euerlastyng god, whiche hast graunted to vs thy seruauntes thoroughe confessyon of the true faythe, for to acknowledge the glorye of the eternall Trynyte. And to honour the one god in thy almyghtye maiestye. We beseche the that thorough our stedfastenes in the same faythe we may alwayes be defendyd from all aduersyte. Whiche lyuest and raynest one god, worlde without ende. so be it."

The Cambridge MS. omits all the succeeding prayers which follow in the text down to the anthem *lætabuntur*, before the prayer "*Omnium sanctorum*, With alle seyntis."

84 One-head. "Nameli in that place in the firste epistle of Joon, where we reden of the *oon hede* of the Trynyte." *Wiclif.* James, prologue. (*Richardson.*)

85 A. S. *sæd*, sated: hence fixed, firm, steadfast.

"Ich shal sei the mi sone,
seide the frere thenne,
How seven sithes the *sadde*
man syngeth on the day."
Piers Ploughman, p. 167.

"It myghte not moue it, for it was foundid on a *sad* stoon." *Wiclif.* Luk. c. 6. (*Richardson:* where several other examples are given.)

86 This and the response omitted in 1545.

87 "Deus qui sanctam tuam ascendisti."

88 The right reading is "Qui vivis et regnas deus, etc."

89 From hence to the antiphon, *Da pacem*, omitted in the

Vers. In the si3t of aungels I shal synge to thee my god.
Respon. I shall worshipe to thin temple and I shal knowleche to thin hooli name.

Preie we. *Seynt mychael.*[90]

GOD, that in a merueilous ordre ordeynedist seruysis of aungels and of men, graunte thou mercifulli that oure liif be defendid in erthe bi hem that stonden ny3 euermore seruynge to thee in heuene. Bi crist.

Ant. Inter natos. Among the sonys of wymmen roos noon a gretter than Iohn baptist.
Vers. A man was sent fro god.
Resp. To whom the name was Iohn.

Preie we. *seint Iohn baptist.*

LORD, defende us thour3 the perpetuel bisechingis of seynt Iohn baptist: and in how moche we ben moor freel, in so moche moor bere thou us up with necessarie helpis. Bi crist oure lord.

Ant. Petrus. Petir apostil and paule the techer of folke of kynde,[91] thei han taught us thi lawe, lord.
Vers. The sown of hem wente oute in to alle erthe.
Resp. And her wordis in to the coostis of the roundnesse of the erthe.

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king's prymer; two little chapters and two short prayers are inserted in their stead.

[90] The original of this collect is the same in the York, Sarum, Hereford, and Bangor missals: "Deus qui miro ordine angelorum ministeria hominumque dispensas: concede propitius, ut quibus tibi ministrantibus in coelo semper assistitur: ab his in terra vita nostra muniatur. Per dominum." The later prymers translate: "O God, whyche by a wonderfull order doyst apoynte the seruyce, both of men, and aungelles, of thy exceedynge mercye graunte vs: that by them whiche attende alwaye upon thy seruyce in heuyn, our lyfe may be defended here in erth. By Chryst our lorde. So be it." *Edit.* 1538.

[91] "Paulus doctor gentium."

Preie we. *bi seint petre and paule.*

GOD,[92] that hast halewid this day with martirdom of thin hooli apostlis petre and paule: graunte to thi churche in alle thingis to folowe the biddingis of hem of whom she took bygynnyng of cleene religioun. Bi crist oure lord.

Ant. Andrew the seruaunt of crist and the worthi apostle of god, brothir of petre and in passioun his felawe: lo, I speke of thee, speke fadir of me: for I am myndeful of thee, be thou myndeful of me.

Vers. The lord louede andreu.

Resp. Into odour of swetnesse.

Preie we. *bi seint andrew.*

LORD, we preien mekeli thi mageste: that as blessid andreu the apostle was prechour and gouernour[93] of thi chirche: so be he euerlastynge mediatour for us before thee. Bi crist.

Ant. Beatus laurentius. Seynt laurence wrouȝte a good werk: that bi the tooken of the hooli cros liȝtnede the blynde.[94]

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[92] "Deus qui hodiernam diem &c." Last collect at matins on the day of St. Peter and St. Paul in the Sarum breviary, and in the missals at communion. The usual collect in the horæ and prymers is: "Deus cujus dextra beatum Petrum &c." "God, whose ryghte hande dyd lyfte vp blessyd Peter the apostle walkyng among the wauys of water, for to saue him from drownyng, and delyuerydest his felowe apostle Paule after thre dayes saylyng from the depe of the see: here vs mercyfully, and graunt, that thorough the merytes of them bothe, we may obtayne the glory euerlastynge. Whyche lyuest and reygnest, &c. So be it." *Prymer*, 1538, and others.

[93] "Prædicator et rector." Prechour and prelate. *Prymer*. 1538. &c.

[94] "The same night he went to the hous of a christen man and founde therin a blynde man, and gaue to hym hys syght by the sygne of the crosse." *Golden legend*, *edit.* Wynkyn de Worde, 1527. fol. c.lxxxxix. j. See also the second lection at matins on

Vers. He delide[95] and ȝaf to poure men.

Resp. The riȝtwisnes of him dwellith in to the world of world.

Preie we. *bi seint laurence.*

ALMYGHTI god, euerlastynge, we preien thee graunte us to slaken the flawme of oure vicis, that grauntidist to seynt laurence thi martir to ouercome the brynnyng of his turmentis. Bi crist.

Ant. Blessid nicholas yet a litil child with moche fastynge made his bodi megre.[96]

Vers. Preie ye for us, blessid nicholas.

Respons. That we be maad worthi to the bifore beheestis of crist.

Preie we. *bi seint nicholas.*

GOD, that with unnoumbrable myraclis hast maad fair[97] seynt nicholas the blessid bishop, we preien thee graunte to us that thourȝ hise preieris and hise deseruyngis we be delyuerid fro the brynnyngis of helle. Bi crist.

St. Laurence's day in the Sarum breviary, and the *Liber festivalis.* "For he herde that there was a pore man besyde in a place, that was blynde: he wente thyder and heled hym." *Edit.* Pynson. 4to. fol. c.xxvj.

[95] He *dealed out;* hence, *dole.* "Dispersit, dedit pauperibus." "He dystrybuted and gaue to the poore." *Edit.* 1538. &c.

[96] The Golden legend tells us, "He wolde not take the brest ne the pappe but ones on the wednesdaye, and ones on the frydaye. And in his yonge age he eschewed the playes and iapes of other yonge children, he used and haunted gladly holy chirche. &c." fol. xliij. j. The *Liber festivalis* also: "All the whyle he laye in his cradel he fasted wednesdaye and frydaye: thyse dayes he wold souke but ones on the daye, and ther withe held hym plesed: thus he lyued all hys lyf in vertues. And therfore chyldren don hym worshypp before all other saintes." fol. lv. See also the first lection on his day in the Sarum breviary.

[97] "Decorasti." "Haste glorifyed." *Edit.* 1538. &c.

Ant. Margareta. Margaret was of fiftene yeer whan she was put in prisoun thurȝ the wickide kyng olibrius.[98]

Vers. Grace is held out in thi lippis.

Resp. Therfore god blessid thee into withouten ende.

Preie we. *bi seint margarete.*

GOD, that madist blessid margarete vyrgyne to come to heuenes, bi the victorie of martirdom: graunte thou, we preien thee, that we folowynge the ensaumple of her moun deserue to neiȝe nyȝ to thee. Bi crist.

Ant. virgo sancta. Seynt Kateryne virgyn the schynynge gemme of grece, was the douȝtir of king costy of the citee of alisaundre.

Vers. Preie for us blessid katerine.

Resp. That we be maad worthi to the bifore biheestis[99] of crist.

Preie we. *bi seint kateryne.*

GOD, that hast ȝouen the lawe of moyses in the hiȝthe of the mounte of synai, and in the same place bi thin hooli aungels, the bodi of seynt kateryne virgyne and martir merueilousli thou hast gederide to gidre,[1] graunte us, we preien thee, that

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[98] I need only refer here and for the next, St. Katherine, to the *Golden Legend* and the *Festival*, where the particulars are given and at great length.

[99] "Promissionibus Christi."

[1] "And whan she was byheded there yssued out of her body mylke in stede of blode, and aungells toke the body and bare it unto the mount of Sinay more than .xx. journeys from thens, and buryed it there honourably." *Golden legend*, fol. ccc.xxxviij. *b.* The history continues, that men not being able to discover what had become of the body made "grete sorow and lamentacyon:" until it was made known through an angel to some hermits dwelling in the desert near Mount Sinai. "Her fleshe was dryed up for length of tyme, but the bones were compacte and pure." And according to the usual style of these legends many miracles are said to have been wrought.

thurȝ hir deseruyngis and hir mediacie we be worthi to come to the hil that is crist.[2] Bi the same crist oure lord. So be it.

Ant. Corpora sanctorum. The bodies of holowis[3] ben biried in pees, and the names of hem shulen lyue withouten ende.

Vers. Blessid be thei that dwellen in thi hous, lord.

Resp. In to worldis of worldis thei shulen preise thee.

Preie we. *For[4] hooli soulis.*

LORD, haue merci on us thi seruauntis, we preien thee, thourȝ the gloriouse ioies of halowis, whose bodies ethir[5] relikis ben conteyned in al hooli chirche bi her glorious merit, and thourȝ her deuout preier be we euermore defendid fro al yuel. Bi crist.

Ant.[6] *letabuntur.* Seyntis shulen make myrthe in glorie and thei shal glade in there couchis.

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[2] "Nos ad arcem virtutum provehi," to which the printed books add "ubi visionis tuæ claritatem mereamur intueri," "where we may deserue to beholde the clerenes of thy face."

[3] "Corpora sanctorum in pace sepulta sunt." The later editions usually have this heading, "¶ Of the sayntes, whose relykes remayne in the holy churche." 1538. &c.

[4] *By?*

[5] *Or:* "And he seith to hem, is it leffel to do wel in the Sabotis *either* yvele? to make a soul saaf *either* to leese?" *Wiclif.* Mark. c. 1. (*Richardson.*)

[6] This is different throughout, anthem, response, and prayer, from the later horæ and printed prymers. I give the office in English from the edition of 1538, with which agrees, generally, the Cambridge MS.:—

"¶ *Of all Sayntes. The antheme.*

"All ye blessyd sayntes and elect seruauntes of god, haue vs in remembraunce before god that thoroughe helpe of youre prayers, we may deserue to be assocyate with you.

"*The versycle.* Rejoice in the lorde, you that be iustyfyed.

"*The answere.* And all you that in herte be rectyfyed.

"*Let vs praye.* We beseche the good lorde, that thou beynge pleased with the prayers of all thyne holy sayntes, wylte bothe graunt vs pardon of oure de-

Vers. Meruelous is god in hise halewis.
Resp. And glorious in his mageste.

Preie we. *With alle seyntis.*

LORD,[7] we preien thee meekli to biholde oure infirmite, and alle the yuelis whiche we han iustli deserued putte thou awei thurȝ the preier of thi blessid modir and of alle seyntis, that we may haue thourȝ oure lord iesu crist ioie withouten ende. Bi the same crist oure lord. So be it.

Ant.[8] *Da pacem.* Lord ȝyue pees in oure daies, for ther is noon othir that shal fyȝte for us, but thou lord oure god.[9]
Vers. Lord, pees be maad in thi vertu.
Resp. And plenteousnesse in thi toures.[10]

Preie we. *For the pees. Deus a quo.*

GOD,[11] of whom ben hooli desiris, riȝt councels and iust werkis: ȝyue to thi seruauntis pees that the world may not ȝeue, that in oure hertis ȝouun to thi commaundementis, and the drede of

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fautes, and gyue vs also perpetuall remedye for them.

"By Chryst our lorde. So be it."

[7] This prayer stands thus in the present litany of the reformed church of England: "We humbly beseech thee, O Father, mercifully to look upon our infirmities; and for the glory of thy Name turn from us all those evils that we most righteously have deserved," &c.

[8] Here agrees again the prymer of 1545, leaving out (as before) the verse and response.

[9] In the present Common prayer book:—

"*Priest.* Give peace in our time, O Lord.

"*Answer.* Because there is none other that fighteth for us, but only thou, O God."

[10] "Et abundantia in turribus tuis."

[11] This collect is still said in the evening service of the Prayer book. I shall give the Latin from the horæ of 1507:—

"Deus a quo sancta desideria, recta consilia, et justa sunt opera: da servis tuis illam quam mundus dare non potest pacem: ut et corda nostra mandatis tuis dedita: et hostium sublata for-

enemyes putt awei, oure tymes be pesible thurȝ thi defendyng. Bi oure lord iesu crist, thi sone, that with thee lyueth and regneth in the unite of the hooli goost god, bi alle worldis of worldis. So be it.[12]

Blesse we to the lord.[13]
To God seie we thankyngis.

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midine, tempora sint tua protectione tranquilla. Per Dominum, &c."

And an intermediate version from the prymer of 1538, with which, except a word, the king's prymer agrees:—

"O God, from whome all holy desyres, all good counselles, and alle iuste workes do procede, gyue vnto thy seruauntes that same peace which the worlde can nat gyue, that our hartes beynge obedyent to thy commaundementes, and the feare of oure enemyes taken awaye, our tyme may be peasyble thorough (*by*, 1545) thy proteccyon. By Christ our lorde. So be it."

[12] These collects vary very much in number in the different editions of the horæ and prymer, whether MS. or printed. Often they are more than double in number. Collects or "Orisons" are said also, as the author of the Mirrour writes, "in the ende of eche howre; for the apostels when euer they were to gyder, they kneled downe on theyr knees, and prayed or they departed asonder." He goes on to explain a custom controverted by some in modern days: "And he that sayth the oryson, stondeth turned to the este. For paradys from whens we ar exyled, ys in the este; and therfore thynkynge what we haue loste, and where we are, and whether we desyre, we pray turned towarde the este." Let us hear him also on the much-vexed question why collect is so called. "Yt is as moche as to saye a gatherynge togyther, for before thys prayer ye dresse you to god, and gather you in onhed to pray in the person of holy chirche, that ye sholde be the soner harde.—¶ Ye ende all youre orysons by oure lorde Iesu cryste, and in hys blyssed name, by cause he sayde in his gospel, that what euer ye aske the father in my name, he shall gyue yt you." fol. lxxij. et seq.

[13] From hence to the prayer "Domine Jesu" omitted in the king's prymer, and instead we find:—

"*A praier of the passion.* Christus passus est.

"Christ suffered for vs, leuing

Patris sapientia.[14]

The wisdom of the fadir, goddis sothfastnesse,[15] God man was takun in the morwe tyde, And of his knowen disciplis soone he was forsakun, Of the iewes he was betraied, soold, and turmentid.

Vers. We worshipen thee crist, and blessen to thee.

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vs example that we shulde folow his steppes, who dyd no synne, neither was there any guile found in his mouth.

"*The versicle.* We worship the Christ with praise and benediction.

"*Answere.* For thou hast redemed the worlde from endles affliction."

The office in the text, after the thanksgiving, is in fact *the matins of the cross:* "ad matutinas de cruce."

[14] "Patris sapientia veritas divina,
Deus homo captus est hora matutina:
A notis discipulis cito derelictus,
A Judæis venditus, traditus, afflictus."

The English version of the later prymers is:—

"He that is the greate profounde sapyence,
And dyuyne truthe of the father on hye:
Whiche for mankynde of his beneuolence,
Hym selfe hathe made both god and man ioyntely:
Was solde and boughte by the Jewes trayterously;
And about mydnyght perturbyd was taken,
And of his disciples anone forsaken."

This office is translated also into verse in the Bodleian MSS. and the Cambridge; the version is curious, and I shall give each stanza as it occurs:—

"The wisdom of the fadir, the trueth of the high king,
God and man was taken, in the morenyng:
Of hise knowun disciplis, soone he was forsak,
Sold and put to peyne, mankynde saaf to make."

Readers who are interested in the subject of early English poetry will not forget that these verses, and those which will be found below in succeeding notes, are not later than the year 1420, which is about the date of the manuscripts in which they are.

[15] *Sóth*, A. S. true: *ge-sothian*, to affirm, to verify.

"Which camen and seyen to him, maister we witen that thou art *sothfast*, and reckist not of ony man." *Wiclif.* Mark, c. 12.

"Therfore stonde ghe be ghe gird aboute ghoure leendis in *sothfastnesse.*" *Id.* Effesies. c. 6. (*Richardson.*)

Resp. For bi thin hooli passioun thou hast aȝen bouȝt[16] the world.

Preie we. *Domine iesu criste.*

LORD iesu crist, sone of god lyuynge, putte thi passioun, thi crosse, and thi dethe, betwixe thi doom[17] and oure soulis now and in our of oure deeth: fouche thou saaf to ȝyue to the quyke merci and grace: to the deede reste and forȝyuenes: and to the chirche and the kyngdom[18] pees and concord: to the syke heelthe and counfort: to oure frendis and enemyes verri charite: and to us synful liif and endeles glorie: the whiche lyuest and regnest god bi alle worldis of worldis. so be it.

The glorious passioun of oure lord iesu crist delyuere us fro dreri sorwe, and brynge us and alle the soulis of trewe deede[19] to the ioies of paradiis. So be it.

At the our of prime.

Hail marie, ful of grace, the lord is with thee.

Resp. Thou art blessid among alle wymmen, and blessid is the fruyt of thi wombe, iesu.[20]

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[16] "Redemisti."

[17] "Inter judicium tuum." The Cambridge MS. and later prymers render: "betwene thy *iudgemente.*"

[18] None of the later books, either in Latin or English, include "the kingdom:" they omit also (and with them the Cambridge MS.) the supplications for the sick, for friends, and enemies.

[19] This clause "all the souls of true dead" omitted in the Cambridge MS. and in the later Sarum horæ and the prymers.

[20] This salutation omitted at prime in the editions of 1538, 1545, &c.: but there is no doubt it was understood that it was to be said, according to the rubrics in the breviary.

The reader will observe that the "Domine labia mea," *Lord, thou shalt open my lips*, and its response are not repeated. This is noticed and the reason given in the Mirrour. It tells us: "Thys verse ys onely sayde at mattyns, that ys the begynnynge of goddes seruyce, in token that the fyrste openynge of your

Deus in adiutorium meum.

GOD, take heede in to myn help.
Lord, hiȝe thou to helpe me.
Glorie be to the fadir. As it was.
God make me saaf.

Ympne.[21] *Veni creator spiritus.*

COME, thou fourmere of the spirit, visite thouȝtis of thi seruauntis: fulfille with heuenli grace the brestis that thou hast maad.

Bithenke thee maker of heelthe, that thou toke sum tyme the shap of oure bodi, in childynge[22] of the unwemmed vyrgyn.

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lyppes, shulde be to the praysynge of god, and all the day after they shulde abyde open, and redy to the same." fol. xlj.

The same work in another place says: "By matyns that are sayde in the nyghte ys understonded the olde lawe, that was all in fygures of darckenesse. And by laudes that ar sayd in the morow tyde, ys understonded the newe lawe that ys in lyghte of grace. Also matines betoken the heuynes that was in tyme of our lordes passyon. And the laudes betoken the ioye of his resurreccyon." fol. lxv. *b*.

21 Instead of this, another hymn is appointed in the prymer of 1545, *Consors paterni luminis*:—
"Felow of thy fathers lyght,
Lyght of lyght, and day moost bright:
Christ that chasest away night,
Ayde us for to praye aright.
(2) Driue out darkenes from our myndes,
Driue away the flocke of fyndes (*fiends*):
Drousynes take from our eyes,
That from slouth we may arise.
(3) Christ vouchesafe mercy to geue,
To us al that do beleue:
Let it profit vs that pray,
All that we do syng or say. Amen."

22 "Ex illibata virgine nascendo." The verb, *to child*, Junius remarks is used *passim* in Wiclif's translation of the old Testament: so also,
"Chosen of Joseph, whome he toke to wiue,
Unknowing him, *childing* by miracle." *Chaucer*, A balade of our Ladie. (*Richardson*.)
"And were borun." *Cambr.* MS.

Marie ful of grace, modir of merci, defende us fro the enemy and take us up in the our of oure deeth.

Glorie to thee, lord, that art born of a maide, with the fadir and with the hooli goost in to euerlastynge worldis. So be it.

Ant. O a wondirful.[23]

Ps. Deus in nomine.[24]

GOD in thi name make thou me saaf: and in thi vertu deeme thou me.

God, heere thou my preier: with eeris perceyue thou the wordis of my mouth.

For aliens han rise aȝens me: and stronge men souȝten my liif, and they settiden not god bifore her siȝt.

For, lo, god helpith me: and the lord is uptaker of my soule.[25]

Turne thou awei yvels to myn enemyes: and leese[26] thou hem in thi treuthe.

Wilfulli[27] I shal make sacrifice to thee: and, lord, I shal knowleche to thi name for it is good.

For thou delyueredist me fro al tribulacioun: and myn yȝe dispiside on myn enemyes.

Glorie be.

Ps. laudate.

ALLE hethen men herie ye the lord: alle peplis herie ye him.

---

[23] "O admirabile commercium."

[24] This and the following psalm are omitted in the king's prymer.

[25] "Susceptor est animæ meæ."

[26] *Lose*, i. e. give up, ruin, destroy. *Richardson*. "In veritate tua disperde illos." "For thy truthe's sake destroye them." *Prymer*. 1538. &c.

[27] "Voluntarie." The later books "wyllyngly."

For his merci is confermed in us: and the treuthe of the lord dwellith withouten ende.

Glorie be to the fadir. As it was in.

Ps. Confitemini domino.

KNOWLECHE ye to the lord for he is good: for his merci is withouten ende.

Israel seie now that he is good: for his mercy is withouten ende.

The hous of aaron seie now: for his mercy is withouten ende.

Thei that dreden the lord seie now: for his merci is withouten ende.

Of tribulacioun I inwardli clepide the lord: and the lord herde me in largenesse.[28]

The lord is an helper to me: I shal not drede what man shal do to me.

The lord is an helper to me: and I shal dispise myn enemyes.

It is bettir for to triste in the lord: than for to triste in man.

It is bettire for to hope in the lord: than for to hope in pryncis.

All folkis cumpassiden me: and in the name of the lord *it bifelde*[29] that I am avengid on hem.

Thei cumpassyng cumpassiden me: and in the name of the lord for I am avengid on hem.

Thei cumpassiden me as bees and thei brenten[30] out as fier among thornes: and in the name of the lord for I am avengid on hem.

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[28] "In latitudine." The later books, "at large."

[29] These two words are underlined in red in the MS., not being in the Latin text.

[30] *Bærnan*, or *brennan*. A. S. to burn.

"And they *brent* all the cornes in that lond." *Chaucer*, The monkes tale, 14,041. (*Richardson.*)

I was hurlid and turned up so doun: and the lord toke me up.

The lord my strengthe and my heriyng: and he is maad to me in to heelthe.

The vois of fulout ioying and of heelthe: be in the tabernaclis of iust men.

The riȝthonde of the lord enhancede me: the riȝthonde of the lord hath do vertue.

I shal not die but I shal lyue: and I shal telle the werkis of the lord.

The lord chastisinge hath chastisid me: and he ȝaf not me in to deeth.

Opene ye to me the ȝatis of riȝtfulnesse and I shal entre bi tho: and I shal knowleche to the lord this ȝate is of the lord, and iust men shulen entre bi it.

I shal knowleche to thee for thou herdist me: and art maad to me in to heelthe.

The stoon whiche the bilderis reproueden:[31] this is maad in to the heed of the corner.

This thing is maad of the lord: and it is wondirful bifore oure yȝen.

This is the day which the lord maad: make we fulout ioye and be we glad therinne.

A! lord make thou me saaf, a! lord make thou wel prosperite: blessid is he that cometh in the name of the lord.

We blessiden you of the hous of the lord: god is lord and hath ȝoue liȝt to us.

Ordeyne ye a solempne day in thicke peplis: til to the horn of the auter.[32]

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[31] "Reprobaverunt," "reiect-ed," in the later books.

[32] "Constituite diem solemnem in condensis, usque ad cornu altaris." The later prymers, which are followed by those of queen Mary, translate, "Ap-poynte ye a solempne holy day

Thou art my god and I shal knowleche to thee: thou art my god and I shall enhaunce thee.

I shal knowleche to thee for thou herdist me: and thou art maad to me in to helthe.

Knowleche ye to the lord for he is good: for his merci is withouten ende.

Glorie be to the fadir.

Ant.[33] O a wondirful marchaundise, the maker of mankynde takynge a bodi with a soule[34] of a maide fouchide saaf to be bore, and so goyng man with oute seed ȝaf to us his godheed.[35]

Capitulum. In omnibus requiem.

IN alle thingis I souȝte reste, and in the eritage of the lord I shal dwelle: thanne the maker of alle thingis comaundide and seide to me, and he that made me restide in my tabernacle. Thankis to god.

Resp. Heil marie, ful of grace, the lord is with thee. Heil marie, ful of grace, the lord is with thee.

---

in thicke places, euen unto the corner of the aulter." The king's prymer renders *in condensis*, "holyday *decked with bowes.*" Compare the version in the modern Prayer book.

[33] The rest of this office for prime is entirely altered in the prymer of 1545, which has the following instead:—

"¶ *The antheme.* Blessed are the pore in spirit, for theirs is the kyngdome of heauen: Blessed are thei that mourne, for they shall receiue comforte.

"*The versicle.* Lord heare my prayer. *Answere.* And let my cry come to thee.

"*Let us pray.* Lord Jesu Christ, most poore and milde of spirit, which diddest mourne and lament for our synnes and infidelitie: Graunt vs likewise to be poore and milde of spirit, and so to wepe and wayle for our offences, that we may be parteners of thy heauenly kyngdome: whiche liuest and reignest God worlde withoute end. Amen."

[34] "Animatum corpus." In the later translations, "a lyuyng body."

[35] "Et procedens homo sine semine largitus est nobis suam deitatem."

Resp. Blessid be thou among alle wymmen, and blessid be the fruyt of thi wombe. The lord is with thee. Glorie be to the fadir and to the sone and to the hooli goost. Heil marie, ful of grace, the lord is with thee.

Vers. Hooli modir of god, euer maide marie.

Resp. Preie for us to the lord.

Vers. Lord, shewe to us thi merci.

Resp. And ȝeue to us thi salvacioun.

Preie we.

Oratio. Concede. Lord god, we preien thee.[36]

Ant. Hora prima.[37]

In the hour of prime iesus was ledde to pilat: hugeli accusid with fals witnessis: thei smyten him in the necke while hise hondes were bounden: the face of god thei bispatten the cleere liȝt of heuene.

Vers. We worchipen thee crist, and blessen to thee.

Resp. For bi thin hooli crosse thou hast aȝenbouȝt the world.

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[36] This prayer has been already given above, p. 30. The manuscript does not repeat it: many of the printed editions do.

[37] "¶ *Ad primam de cruce.*
Hora prima ductus est Jesus ad Pilatum,
Falsis testimoniis multum accusatum:
In collo percutiunt manibus ligatum,
Vultum Dei conspuunt, lumen cæli gratum."

In the later books thus rendered: "¶ *The fyrst houre of the Crosse.*
The fyrst houre, in the mornynge erly,
Unto theyr Iudge, called Pylate the Iewes,
Iesu with his handes bounden they cary,
Where many a false wytnesse dyd hym accuse:
In the necke they hym smytte, his body they bruse,
They spytte and defyle there hys godly face,
The lyghte of heuen, replete with all grace." *Prymer*, 1538.

In the Cambridge and Bodleian MSS.:—
"Iesus at oure of pryme, was led tofore pilat,
With false witnessyng, michel (*much*) accused for hate:
Buffetid hise hondis weren bounden, thei spaten in his face,
Thus thei biseien foule, oure lord king of grace."

Preie we.

Domine iesu. Lord iesu crist. The glorious passioun.[38]

Secounde our.[39]

Heil marie. Blessid be thou.

Deus in adiutorium.

GOD take heede in to myn help.
Lord, to helpe me hiȝe thou.
Glorie be to the fadir.
As it was in the bygynnyng.
Make us saaf.
Ympne. Come thou fourmer.[40]
Bithenke thee.
Marie ful of grace.
Glorie be to thee, lord.
Ant. Whanne thou were born.

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[38] See the prayer and response above, p. 41: "Lorde iesu crist sone of god lyuynge, putte thi passioun, &c."

[39] This is remarkable: in almost all the books (I know none to the contrary) this is the third hour: and the next, the sixth; which we shall find called the third in the MS. Possibly *hour* is here to be taken for the office: second *office*, &c.

[40] This and the three following are the words of the four verses of the hymn, *Veni creator*, above, p. 42. Instead of this, or of repeating the one which was said at prime, the king's prymer appoints another:—

"*The hymne: rector potens, verax deus.*

Mightye ruler, God most true,
Whiche doest all in ordre due:
Morne with light illuminyng,
Noonetide with heate garnishyng.
(2) Quenche the flames of our debate,
Foule and noysome heate abate:
Graunt unto oure body health,
To our hertes true peace and wealth.
(3) Let tong and heart, strength and sense,
Commende thy magnificense:
Let thy spirit of charite,
Styre vs all to worship the.
Amen."

Ps. Ad dominum cum tribularer.

WHANNE I was sette in tribulacioun, I cried to the lord: and he herde me.

Lord, delyuere thou my soule fro wickide lippis: and fro a gilful tunge.

What shal be ȝouun to thee, ethir what shal be lede [41] to thee: to a gileful tunge.

Sharpe arowis of the myȝtie: with colis that maken desolate.[42]

Alas to me, for my dwellyng is maad long in an alyen lond: I dwellid with men dwellynge in cedar, my soule was a comelyng [43] moche.

I was pesible with hem that hatiden pees: whane I spake to hem that inpugneden [44] eythir aȝen stooden me withouten cause.

Glorie be.

Ps. Leuaui oculos.[45]

I REISIDE myn yȝen in to hillis: from whenys help shal come to me.

Myn help is of the lord: that made heuene and erthe.

---

[41] "Aut quid apponatur tibi." "Or what may be layed against thee." *Prymer*. 1538. &c.

[42] "Cum carbonibus desolatoriis." "With hotte sparklynge colys." 1538, &c. and queen Mary's, "hote burnyng coles." 1545, with *desolatoriis* in the text and *ignitis* in the margin.

[43] "Multum incola fuit anima mea." *Comelyng*, foreigner, stranger.

"—— thou hast now forsake my dogter, that schulde be thi wif, and to a *kemelyng* take."

R. Gloucester. p. 25.

"Most dere I biseche you as *comelingis* and pilgrimes to absteine you fro fleishli desires." *Wiclif*. 1 Pet. c. 2. (*Richardson*.)

[44] "Impugnabant." The succeeding three words seem to be intended as a gloss upon *inpugneden*.

[45] This and the next psalm omitted in 1545.

The lord ȝeue not thi foot in to mouynge: neithir he nappe that kepith thee.

Lo, he shal not nappe neithir slepe: that kepith israel.

The lord kepith thee: the lord is thi protectioun aboue thi riȝthond.

The sunne shal not brenne thee bi day: neithir the moone bi nyȝte.

The lord kepith thee fro alle yuel: the lord kepe thi soule.

The lord keepe thi goynge in and thi goynge out: fro this tyme now and in to the world.

Glorie be.

Ps. Letatus sum.

I AM glad in these thingis that ben seid to me: we shulen go in to the hous of the lord.

Oure feet weren stondynge in the forȝerdis: thou ierusalem.

Ierusalem whiche is bildid as a citee: whos part-takyng therof is in to the same thinge.

For the lynagis, the lynagis of the lord stiȝeden thudir: the witnessyng of israel to knowleche to the name of the lord.

For thei saten there on setis in doom: setis on the hous of dauid.

Prei ye tho thingis that ben to the pees of ierusalem: and habundaunce be to hem that louen thee.

Pees be maad in thi vertu: and habundaunce in thi touris.

For my britheren and my neiȝboris: I spake pees to thee.

For the hous of oure lord god I souȝte goodis to thee.

Glorie be.

Ant. *Quum natus.*[46]

Whanne thou were born wondirfulli of the virgyne thanne the scripturis weren fulfillide, as reyn in to a wolle flees thou came doun that thou shuldist maak saaf mankynde: thee we preisen, oure god.

Capitulum. Ab inicio et.

Fro the bigynnyng and bifore worldis I am fourmed, and in to the world to come I shal not cece to be, and I haue serued in hooli wonnynge[47] bifore him. Thankis to god.

Resp. Hooli modir of god euerlastynge vyrgyne marie. Hooli modir of god euerlastynge vyrgyne marie.

Resp. Preie for us to the lord oure god.

Resp. Euerlastynge virgyne marie. Glorie be to the fadir, and to the sone, and to the hooli goost.

Resp. Hooli modir of god euer virgyne marie.

Vers. Aftir the birthe thou dwelledist euerlastynge virgyne unwemmyd.

Resp. Modir of god preie for us.

Vers. Lord shewe to us thi merci.

Resp. And ȝeue to us thi saluacioun.

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[46] Instead of this anthem, chapter, &c., the office of this hour in the king's prymer is thus appointed, immediately succeeding to the cxix (120th) psalm:—

"*Antiphona. The antheme.*

Blessed are meke, for they shall inherite the yearth: Blessed are they which suffre hungre and thirst for righteousnes, for they shalbe satisfied.

The versicle. Lorde, heare my praier.

Answere. And let my crye come to thee.

¶ *Let us pray.*

Lorde Iesu Christ, whose whole lyfe was nothyng but humilitie and mekenes, who only art our veri righteousnes: Grauntvs to serue and honoure the, with humble and meke heart, and in al our life and conuersation to desire to be occupied in the workes of righteousnes, whiche lyuest and reignest, &c. Amen."

[47] *Wun-ian.* A.S. to dwell, to inhabit.

"God wold her *wonnynge* were in wildernesse." *Piers Ploughman. Crede.*

Preie we.
Lord we preien thee graunte us thi.[48]

Crucifige clamitant.[49]

Crucifie him thei crieden in the thridde hour: He is skornyd and clothid with the cloth of purpure: His heed is prickid with a corowne of thornes: Berynge the crosse on hise shuldris to the places of peynes.

Vers. We worshipen thee christ.
Resp. For bi.

Preie we.
Lord iesu crist, goddis sone.[50]
The gloriouse passioun of our lord iesu crist.[51]

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[48] As before.

[49] "¶ *Ad tertiam de cruce.*
Crucifige clamitant hora tertiarum,
Illusus induitur veste purpurarum:
Caput ejus pungitur corona spinarum,
Crucem portat humeris ad locum pœnarum."

In the later books: "¶ *The thyrde houre of the crosse.*
About thre houres after the sonne gan sprynge,
All the iewes crye Iesu to crucifye:
And in scorne they hym clothed with purple clothynge,
And in stede of a crowne on his hed they tye
A crowne of thorne, that prycked cruelly:
And lad him forth to the place where he dyed,
With a greate howge crosse on his shulders leyed." *Prymer.* 1538.

In the Cambridge MS.:—
"At undren the false iewis, crieden with high vois,
Delyuere us barabban, and do this on the cros:
A scharp coroun of thornes, thei diden on his heed,
And dide him bere his cros, there he schulde be deed."

Undren, more commonly *undern*, A.S. the third hour.

[50] These, as before.

[51] We learn from the author of *The Mirrour of our Lady* that in monasteries a practice prevailed in England of visiting the grave after tierce, or the third hour. The whole passage is worth quoting; he is addressing the nuns of Syon: "Ye haue in the monastery a beer and a graue to be contynually in your syghte. The beer in

iij. our.

Heil marie ful.

Deus in adiutorium.

GOD, take heede in to my help.
Lord, hiȝe thou to helpe me.
Glorie be to the fadir. As it was.
God make saaf.

Ymnus. Veni creator.[52]

COME thou fourmer of.
Bithenke thee maker.
Marie ful of grace.
Glorie be to thee.

---

mynde of dethe, and the graue in mynde of the laste dome: when all bodyes shall aryse out of theyr graues. And in token therof the abbesse castyth oute a lytel erthe with tow fyngers, for then the soulle and body, that are understonded by the tow fyngers and are sondered here by dethe, shall then be knytte ageyne togyther euerlastyngely. —¶ And therfor eche day after tyerce, ye go to thys graue, to brynge your dethe and youre dome to mynde, or ye begynne to speke, or to be occupyed aboute eny other thynge, but as ye dare dye anon therwith, and appere before oure lordes dome." fol. lxxvj. The words "or ye begynne to speke" refer to the rule in that monastery of Syon as well as in others, that silence was to be kept until after the mass. This was not specially extended until after the visit to the grave, but was usually observed with much solemnity.

[52] Instead of repeating one already said, the prymer of 1545 has "*Hymnus.* Rerum creator omnium.

¶ *The hymne.*

O creatour most benigne,
To vs alway be lokynge:
Rayse vs from noysome slepe,
Wherin we be drouned depe.
(2) Chryst of thy mercyfulnes,
Pardon al our sinfulnes:
The to praise and magnifie,
Of night we leaue the slogardie.
(3) Of the sinne that we haue done,
We make our confession:
Wepyng we do praye to the,
Pardon our iniquitie. Amen."

Ant. Bi the boysh.[53]

Ps. Ad te leuaui.

TO thee I haue reiside myn y3en: that dwellist in heuenes.

Lo, as the y3en of seruauntis: ben in the hondis of her lordis.

As the y3en of the hand maide ben in the hondis of her ladi: so oure y3en be to oure lord god til he haue merci on us.

Lord, haue thou merci on us, haue thou merci on us: for we ben moche fillid with dispisyng.

For oure soule is moche fillid: we ben shenship[54] to hem that ben abundaunt with richessis, and dispisynge to proude men.

Glorie be to the fadir.

Ps. Nisi quia dominus.[55]

ISRAEL seie now, nobut for the lord was in us: nobut for the lord was in us.

Whanne men riseden up a3ens us: in hap thei hadden swolewid us quyke.

Whanne woodnesse[56] of hem was wrooth a3ens us: in hap watir hadde sope us up.[57]

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[53] "Rubum quem." "The busshe." *Prymer.* 1538. &c.

[54] Made ashamed by them? "opprobrium abundantibus." "beynge scorned of the ryche." *Prymer.* 1538. &c.

[55] This and the next psalm omitted in 1545.

[56] *Wéd-an.* A. S. insanire: sævire. Hence they say the god Woden had his name, and our wednesday. *Woodnesse,* madness. "But he (Balaam) hadde repreuynge of his *woodnesse* a dumb beeste undir yoke that spak with voice of man." *Wiclif.* 2 Peter. c. 2.
"In honour of hym (Woden) y clepud in oure tongue Wednesday." *R. Gloucester.* p. 112. (*Richardson.*)

[57] "Absorbuisset nos." "mought haue souped vs up." 1538. &c.

Oure soule passide thurȝ a stronde:[58] in hap oure soule hadde passide thurȝ a water unsuffrable.

Blessid be the lord: that ȝaf not us in to the takynge of the teeth of hem.

Oure soule as a sparowe is delyuerid: fro, the snare of hunteris.

The snare is al to brokun: and we ben delyuerid.

Oure help is in the name of the lord: that made heuene and erthe.

Glorie be.

Ps. Qui confidunt.

THEI that tristen in the lord ben as the hil of syon: he that dwellith in ierusalem shal not be moued with outen ende.

Hillis ben in the cumpas of it: and the lord is in the cumpas of hise peple fro this tyme now and into the world.

For the lord shal not leue the ȝerd[59] of synners on the part of iust men: that iust men holde not forth her hondis to wickidnesse.

Lord, do thou wel to good men: and of riȝtful herte.

But the lord shal lede hem that bowen in to obligaciouns with hem that worchen wickidnesse: pees be on israel.

Glorie be.

Ant.[60] Bi the boysch that moyses seiȝ unbrent: we han

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[58] "Torrentem pertransivit." "ouer a ryuer." 1538. &c.

[59] ȝerd is yard, or rod: as presently in the ps. *Dominus regit me:* "Thi ȝerde and thi staafe, tho han confortide me." "Quia non relinquet dominus virgam peccatorum super sortem justorum." "For God shall nat leue the rod of synners upon the lotte of the iuste." 1538. &c.

[60] The following is the arrangement in the prymer of 1545, to the end of this hour:—

knowun thi preisable maidenhood to be kept: modir of god preie for us.

Capitulum. Et sic in syon.

AND so in syon I am fastned,[61] and also I restide in an halewid citee and my power in ierusalem. Thankis to god.

Resp. Aftir the birthe thou dwelledist unwemmyd virgyne. Aftir the birthe thou dwellidist unwemmyd virgyne.

Resp. Modir of god preie for us.

Resp. Thou dwellidist unwemmed virgyne. Glorie be to the fadir and to the sone and to the hooli goost. Aftir the birthe thou dwellidist unwemmyd virgyne.

Vers. Thou art maad fair and swete.

Resp. In thi delicis [62] hooli modir of god.

Vers. Lord, shewe us thi merci.

Resp. And ȝyue to us thi saluacion.

Preie we.

Lord god we preien, graunte us thi seruauntis.

Hora sexta iesus.[63]

In the sexte oure iesus is nailid to the cross. And is or-

"*Antiphona.* *The anthem.*

Blessed are the merciful, for they shall get mercy. Blessed are the cleane in heart, for they shal se God.

The versicle. Lorde, heare my praier.

Answere. And let my crye come to thee.

Let us pray.

Lorde Iesu Christ, whose propertie is to be mercyful, whiche art alwaye pure and cleane without spot of synne: graunt vs the grace to folow the in mercifulnes toward our neighboures, and alwaies to beare a pure heart, and a cleane conscience toward the, that we may after this life se the in thy euerlastyng glory: whiche liuest and reignest God world without end. Amen."

[61] "Firmata sum." "Was I settled." 1538. &c.

[62] "In deliciis tuis."

"For sche that is lyuynge in *delices* is deed." *Wiclif.* 1 Tim. c. 5.

[63] "☾ *Ad sextam de cruce.*

Hora sexta Jesus est cruci conclavatus,

deyned to honginge among theues. For turmentis thristinge fillid with galle. Thus is the lombe of god turmentide that did awei synne.

Vers. We worshipen thee.
Resp. For bi thin.

Preie we.
Lord iesu crist sone.
The glorious passioun.[64]

The ix. our.

Heil marie. Blessid be thou.

Deus in adiutorium.

GOD, take hede in to myn help.
Lord, hiȝe thou to helpe me.
Glorie be to the fadir. As it was.
God make me saaf.
Ymnus. Come thou fourmer. Bithenke thee.
Marie ful of grace.[65]

Atque cum latronibus pendens deputatus:
Præ tormentis sitiens felle saturatus,
Agnus crimen diluit sic ludificatus."

Thus rendered in the later books:—" ℂ *The syxte houre of the crosse.*
The vi. houre springyng before the mydday,
Iesu hande and fote to the crosse they nayled:
With the shamefullyst deathe that they contriue may,
In dispyte bytwene two theues hym hanged:
Whan that they thoughte for payne that he thursted,
His thurste for to quenche, they proffered hym gall:
Thys lambe thus illuded bought our synnes all."

In the Cambridge MS.:—
"At myddai oure lord Iesus was nailed on the rode,
Bitwixe twey theeues hangid, his bodi ran al on blode:
Hym thirstide for peyne, thei gauen him drynke galle,
Al this peyne he suffride, fro deeth to bie us alle."

64 All this as before.

65 Vide note 40, p. 48.

Instead of this hymn, the king's prymer has:—

Glorie to thee.

The root of iesse.

Ps. In conuertendo.[66]

WHANNE the lord turnede the cathtifte of syon: we weren maad as counfortide.[67]

Thanne oure mouth was fillid with ioie: and oure tunge with fulout ioyinge.

Thanne thei shulen seie among hethen men: the lord magnifiede to do with hem.

The lord magnyfiede to do with us: we ben maad glade.

Lord, turne thou oure cathtifte as a stronde in the southe.[68]

Thei that sowen in teeris: shulen repe in fulout ioiyng.

Thei goynge ȝeden and wepten:[69] sendynge her seedis.

But thei comynge shulen come with fulout ioiynge: berynge her handfuls.

Glorie be.

"¶ *The hymne. Æterna cæli gloria.*
O the glory eternall,
Blessed hope of men mortal:
Christ the sonne of God on hye,
The son of virgyn Mari.
(2) Reche thy hande, that we may rise,
And our myndes so exercise:
That deuoutly, we may syng,
Prayse of God with thankes geuyng.
(3) Fynally, O Christ, we craue,
Faith in oure heartes set and graue:
That throughe hope of life aboue,
We may flame, with feruent loue.
Amen."

[66] Instead of this and the two following psalms, the xivth only, "Domine quis habitabit," is appointed in the king's prymer of 1545.

[67] *Facti sumus consolati.* "We were made glad." 1538. &c.

[68] Again as before: see note 58, p. 55. "*sicut torrens in austro.*"

[69] *Ibant et flebant.* "Wente and wepte." 1538. &c.

Ps. Nisi dominus edificauerit.

NOBUT the lord bilde the hous: thei that bilden trauelen in veyn.

Nobut the lord kepe the citee: he wakith in veyn that kepith it.

It is veyn to you to rise bifore the liȝt: rise ye aftir that ye han sete that eten the bread of sorwe.

Whanne he shal ȝeue sleep to hise loued: lo, the eritage of the lord is sones, the meede is the fruyt of wombe.

As arowis ben in the hond of the myȝti: so the sones of hem that ben shakun out.[70]

Blessid is the man that hath fillid his desire of tho: he shal not be shent whanne he shal speke to hise enmyes in the ȝate.

Glorie be. As it was.

Ps. Beati omnes qui.

BLESSID ben alle men that dreden the lord: that goen in hise weies.

For thou shalt ete the trauels of thin hondis: thou art blessid, and it shal be wel to thee.

Thi wiif as a plenteuous vyne: in the sidis of thin hous.

Thi sones as the newe spryngys of olyue trees: in the cumpas[71] of thi borde.

Lo, so a man shal be blessid: that dredeth the lord.

The lord blesse thee fro syon: and se thou the goodis of ierusalem in alle the daies of thi liif.

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[70] *Ita filii excussorum.* "So be the chyldren of smyters." 1538. &c.

[71] *In circuitu mensæ tuæ.* All about thy table. 1538.

And se thou the sonys of thi sonys: se thou pees on israel.

Glorie be. As it was.

Ant. Germinauit.[72]

The roote of iesse buriownede: the sterre is sprungun of iacob: a virgyne hath born the sauyour: we worshipen thee oure god.

Capitulum. Et radicaui.

AND I haue take roote in a worshipful peple, and in the parties of my god the eritage of him: and in plente of halewis my withholdyng.[73] Thankis to god.

Resp. Speciosa. Fair and swete thou art maad. Fair and swete thou art maad.

Resp. In thi delicis hooli modír of god.

Resp. And swete.

Glorie be to the fadir, and sone, and to the hooli goost. Fair and swete thou art maad.

Vers. Hooly virgyne fouche thou saaf me for to preise thee.

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[72] The king's prymer has to the end of the office for this hour, the following:—

"*Antiphona. The anthem.*

Blessed are the peace-makers, for they shal be called the children of God. Blessed are they that suffre persecution for righteousnes sake, for theirs is the kingdome of heauen.

The versicle. Lorde, heare my prayer.

Answere. And let my crye come to the.

Let vs pray.

Lorde Iesu Christ, whiche madest peace betwene God the father, and vs miserable sinners, whiche notwithstanding diddest suffer uniustly, iniuries and persecutions: Graunt us grace to kepe the peace that thou hast made, and patiently to beare al iniuries and persecutions, that we may be called thy children, and enherit thy heauenly kyngdome: whiche liuest and reignest. &c. Amen."

[73] *Et in plenitudine sanctorum detentio mea.* "And amonge the companye of sayntes is my tarygenge." 1538. &c.

Resp. ʒyue to me vertu aʒens thin enemyes.
Vers. Lord shewe to us thi merci.
Resp. And ʒeue to us thi saluacioun.

Preie we. *Concede.*
Lord god, we preien. Bi crist.

Hora nona.[74]

At the hour of noon the lord iesus ʒeldide the goost:

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[74] "¶ *Ad nonam de cruce.*
Hora nona Dominus Jesus expiravit,
Heli clamans spiritum Patri commendavit:
Latus ejus lancea miles perforavit."

In the later versions: "¶ *The nynthe houre of the Crosse.*
Our mercyfull lorde Iesu goddes sonne,
Callynge vnto his father almyghty,
Yelded vp his soule, and full vpon none,
The spiryte departed that blessyd body:
The sonne waxed darke, the yerthe quoke wondersly,
Great merueylous thynges to beholde and heare,
And yet a knyghte perced hys hert with a spere."

In the Cambridge MS.:—
"At noon diede oure lord Iesu, that was of myghtes most,
He criede heli to his fadir, and so he lefte his goost:
A spere in to his side, was thrillid of a knight,
And thanne the erthe quakede, the sunne withdrowe his light."

Upon the history of this "knyghte" let us hear the *Golden legend*:—

"Longius, whiche was a puyssaunt knyght, was with other knyghtes by the commaundement of Pylate on the syde of the crosse of our lord, and perced the syde of our lord with a spere. And whan he sawe the myracles, how the sonne lost his lyght, and the grete erthe quauynge whan our lorde suffred dethe and passyon on the tree of the crosse, than byleued he in Iesu Chryst. Some saye that whan he smote our lorde with the spere in the syde, the precyous blode aualed (*fell down*) by the shaft of the spere vpon his handes, and of auenture with his handes he touched his eyen. And anone he that had be tofore blynde, sawe anone clerely, wherfore he refused all cheualry, and abode with the apostles, of whom he was taught and chrystened." &c. fol.lxxxxviij. William Thorpe in his confession before

Hely criynge he comendide his soule to the fadir: a knyȝt thurlide[75] his syde with a spere: thanne the erthe quakide togider and the sunne derknede.

Vers. We worchipen thee crist and blessen to thee.

Resp. For bi thin hooli passioun thou hast aȝenbouȝt the world.

Preie we. *Domine iesu.*

Lord iesu crist, sone of god lyuynge, putte thi passioun. the whiche lyuest and regnest. So be it. The glorious passioun.

Here biginneth euensong of our ladi.

Aue maria. Heil marie ful of grace.[76]
Blessid be thou among.

GOD, take heede in to myn help.
Lord, hiȝe thou to helpe me.
Glorie be to the fadir. As it was.
God make me saaf.

Ant. Aftir thi birthe.

Letatus sum in. I am glad in thes.
Ad te leuaui. To thee I haue reisid.
Nisi quia dominus. Israel seie now nobut.
Qui confidunt. Thei that tristen in the lord.
In conuertendo dominus. Whanne the lord turned.[77]

---

archbishop Arundel in 1407, calls this soldier by the name of *blind knight.* See also Piers Plowman's vision, fol. 98.

[75] *Thirl-ian;* to thrill or drill. "That with a spere was *thirled* his brest bone." *Chaucer*, The knightes tale, v. 2707. (*Richardson.*) Thrill so used is not in the modern meaning of the word, but *to pierce, to bore.*

[76] On a page of one of the Harleian manuscripts, of about 1450, is a curious addition to an "Ave" which is inserted in the volume. "Ave Maria . . . ventris tui, Jesus Christus: mercy, amen. Et benedicta sit sancta mater tua anna, ex qua sine macula tua sanctissima processit caro virginea." *Harl.* 172.

[77] Instead of these the king's

Ant.[78] Aftir the birthe thou dwelledist an unwemmed virgyn. Modir of god, preie for us.

Capitulum. Beata es.

BLESSID art thou virgyn marie, that hast born the lord maker of the world: thou hast getyn hym that made thee, and thou dwellist virgyne withouten ende. Thankis to god.

Ympne. Aue maris stella.[79]

HEIL sterre of the see, hooli goddis modir, alwei maide, blesful ȝate of heuene.[80]

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prymer appoints the cxij. "Laudate pueri Dominum:" cxxxiv. "Laudate nomen Domini:" and cxxxvij. "Confitebor tibi Domine."

The psalms in the text have already occurred, and the MS. merely refers to them, although usually in the printed books of after years they were repeated at length.

[78] The anthem of the king's prymer is:—

"*Antiphona. The antheme.*
Blessed be the name of the lord
for euermore."

The chapter is the same.

[79] Instead of this in the prymer of 1545:—

"*Hymnus. Salvator mundi Domine.* ℂ *The hymne.*

O Lorde the worldes sauiour,
Whiche hast preserued vs this
day:
Thys night also be oure succour,
And saue vs euer we the pray.

(2) Be merciful nowe vnto vs,
And spare vs, whiche do pray
to the:
Oure sinne forgeue lorde gratious,
And oure darkenes, mought
lightened be.

(3) That slepe, our mindes do
not oppresse,
Nor that oure enemy vs begile:
Nor that the flesh, ful of frailnes,
Oure solle and body, do defile.

(4) O lorde, reformer of all
thyng,
With heartes desire, we pray to
the:
That after oure rest and slepyng,
We may ryse chast, and worshyp
the. Amen."

[80] "Heil sterre of the see. holy godes moder. and þou euere maide holi ȝate of heuene.

Takinge þat word heil of gabrieles mouþ. sette us alle in pees chaunginge þe name of Eue.

Lose þe bondes of gilti men

Takinge that word heil of gabrielis mouth, grounde thou us in pees, chaungynge the name of eue.

Unbynde thou boondis of gilti men, brynge forth liȝt to blinde men: putte awei oure yuels, aske alle goodis.

Shewe thee to be modir: bi thee take he oure preier that suffride for us to be thi born sone.

Maide aloone meke among alle othir: make us unbounde of synnes and to be [81] debonere and chaste.

ȝyue us clene liif, greithe [82] a sikir weie: so that we seynge god be glad euermore.

Preisynge be to god the fadir, worshipe to the hiȝest crist, and to the hooli goste: oon worship to hem thre. So be it.

Vers. Grace is ȝotun in thi lippis.[83]
Resp. Therfor god hath blessid thee withouten ende.
Ant. Seynt marie.

Ps. Magnificat anima.[84]

MI soule magnifieth the lorde: and my spirit fulout ioiede in god myn heelthe.

---

profre liȝt to blynde men do a weie oure Iueles and aske alle godes.

Schew þou art oure moder take he by the praiere þat for us was boren soffrede to be thin.

Maide þou art alone debonere a monge alle. make vs vnbounde of synnes. and to be chaste and debonere.

ȝife us clene lif greithe us a sikir weie so þat we seinge god be glade euere more.

Preisinge be to god þe fader worschupe to heiest crist and to þe holi gost. o worschupe to hem þre. amen." Add. MS. 27592.

[81] *Mites fac et castos.*

[82] *Iter para tutum.* "Make redi a siker weie." Cambr. MS.

[83] The king's prymer has:—

"℄ *The versicle.* Blessed is Mari, amonges al women.

The answere. And blessed is the fruyte of her wombe."

[84] See two other translations of this canticle in the appendix: from MSS. in the Bodleian and Harleian libraries.

For he bihelde the mekenesse of his handmaide: lo, forsothe of this alle kynredis shulen seie me blessid.

For he that is miȝti hath don to me grete thingis: and his name is hooli.

And his merci is fro kynrede in to kynredis: to men that dreden him.

He made myȝt in his arm: he scatride proude men with the thouȝt of his herte.

He sette doun myȝti men fro ceete: and enhauncide meke men.

He hath fulfillid hungri men with goodis: and he hath lefte riche men voide.

He hauynge mynde of his merci: took up israel his child.

As he hath spokun to oure fadris: to abraham and to his seed in to worldis.

Glorie be to. As it was.

Ant. Sancta maria.[85]

Seynt marie, socoure to wrecchis, helpe thou the litle of

[85] From hence to the end of evensong is thus appointed in the prymer of 1545:—

"*Antiphona.* ℭ *The antheme.*

Lo, all thynges be fulfilled that were spoken of the angel by the virgyn Mari. Thankes be to God.

The Versicle. Lorde heare my praier.

Answere. And let my crye come to thee.

ℭ *Let vs pray.*

Holy lord, almighty father, euerlastyng God, whiche diddest replenishe the blessed virgyn Mari with most plentiful grace, and spiritual giftes, whereby she praised and magnified the: Graunt that thy holy gost, may with like grace and inspiration, kindle our heartes, to sanctifie thy holy name. Through Christ our lorde. Amen."

There is an evident error in the antiphon, "*of* the angel *by* the virgyn." The Latin is *per angelum de virgine Maria.* The mistake is continued in the English editions of 1545, 1546, by *Whitchurch*, 12mo.: in the

herte: fauere weperis: preie for the peple: biseche for the clergie: bidde for the deuoute wommans kynde.[86]

Vers. Lord shewe to us thi merci.

Resp. And ȝyue to us thi saluacioun.

Preie we. *Oratio.* *Concede nos.*
Lord god we preien. Bi our lord iesu crist.
Blesse we the lord. Thankis to god.

Ant. Of the crosse. De cruce deponitur.[87]

He is don doun of the cross, at the oure of euensong:

Latin and English, 1545, *Grafton*, 8vo.: and in the prymer of king Edward, 1547, 4to. I need scarcely repeat that in these notes I use the first edition, in 4to., by Grafton, 1545 (see the note in the dissertation). Dr. Burton in his reprint repeats the error, and takes no notice of it.

[86] "Antiphona est versus aliquis, sive sententia intercalaris, quæ una cum psalmi canticive versibus, sive aliquo sive omnino omnibus, decantatur intercalari concentu eodem prorsus ordine, quo ecclesiastica responsoria cantantur; cum ea ratione a responsorio antiphona differat, quod in responsoriis chorus uni cantori respondeat; in antiphonis vero chorus unus alteri choro succinat; et in responsorio quidem unus cantor versus intercinat, intercalante semper choro, responsorium; in antiphona vero chorus alter concinat versus, altero choro antiphonam reciprocante. Verum quia præsentium temporum mores ab antiquis plurimum discrepant, inpræsentiarum secundum psalmodiæ hodiernam rubricam, nomine antiphonæ venit sententia illa, quæ inchoatur ab uno unius chori, completurque a choro, et ad ejus symphoniam psalmus cantatur." Addit. ad Gavanti comment. sec 5. cap. vij.

There are three kinds of anthems:—Scriptural, because taken from the old or new Testament; such as the *Magnificat.* Historical, which have reference to the history of the particular saint or mystery commemorated; such as that for the circumcision, *O admirabile commercium*, &c. (see above, note 59, p. 27). The third kind is mixed; that is, taken from the psalms or some other book of scripture, with some words or sentences added or transposed and adapted to the mystery of the particular day or the life of the saint.

[87] "*Ad vesperas de sancta cruce.* De cruce deponitur hora vespertina,

the stryngthe of him was hid in mynde of the godhede. Suche a deeth undirȝede the medicyn of liif: alas, the corowne of glorie lay bynethe.

Vers. We worchipen thee, crist.
Resp. For bi thin hooli.

Preie we. *Domine iesu criste.*
Lord iesu crist, sone.
The gloriouse passioun.

Here bigynneth cumplyn [88] *of oure lady.*

Heil marie. Blessid be.

Fortitudo latuit in mente divina:
Talem mortem subiit vitæ medicina,
Heu corona gloriæ jacuit supina.
¶ *Euensong of the holy Crosse.*
The deed body of Chryste, that blessyd man,
From the crosse was losyd and taken awaye:
At euynsonge tyme, but alas where was than,
His crowne of glorye and great strengthe that day,
Full preuely within the godheed it laye:
Yet wolde he his cruell deathe suffre thus,
The trew medecyn of lyfe to brynge vs."

In the Cambridge MS.:—

"Fro cros crist was takun doun, at euensong tyme we fynde,
Power of resurreccioun, was hid in goddis mynde:
The medicyn of liyf bi storie, took deeth out of toun,
Allas the coroun of glorie, was thus cast upsedoun."

This stanza, it will be observed, rhymes also in the middle of each line.

[88] "Complyn ys the seuenthe and the last howre of dyuyne seruyce, and yt ys as moche to say as a fulfyllynge.—And therwyth also is ended, and fulfylled, spekynge, etynge, and drynkynge, and laborynge, and all bodyly besynesses. So that after that tyme oughte to be kepte grete stylnes, and scylence not only from wordes, but also from all dedes saue only softe prayer, and holy thynkeynge, and bodely sleape. For complyn betokeneth the ende of mannes lyfe——and therefore eche persone oughte to dyspose hym to bedde warde, as yf hys bedde were hys graue." *The Mirrour*, fol. lxxxix.

Conuerte nos.

God oure saluacioun conuerte us to thee.
And turne fro us thy wrathe.

Deus in adiutorium.

GOD, take heede in to myn help.
Lord, hiȝe thou to helpe me.
Glorie be to the fadir. As it was.
God make me saaf.
Ant. With gladnesse.

Usquequo domine.

LORD, how longe forȝetist thou me into the ende: how longe turnest thou awei thi face fro me.

How longe shal I sette councels[89] in my soule: sorwe in myn herte bi daye.

How longe shal myn enemye be reisid on me: my lord god biholde thou and heere thou me.

Liȝtne thou myne yȝen, lest ony tyme I slepe in deeth: lest ony tyme myn enemy seie I haue the maistrie aȝens hym.

Thei that troublen me shulen haue ioie if I shal be stirid[90]: forsothe I hopide in thi merci.

Myn herte shal fulli haue ioie in thin heelthe: I shal synge to the lord that ȝyueth goodis to me, I shal seie salm to the name of the hiȝeste lord.

Glorie be.

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[89] *Quam diu ponam consilia.* "How long shall I caste pollecyes." 1538. &c. 'Howe long shall I haue troublous thoughtes." 1545.

[90] Stirred. *Si motus fuero.*

Ps. Judica me.

GOD, deeme thou me and departe[91] thou my cause fro a folk not hooli: delyuere thou me fro a wickid man and gileful.

For thou art god my strengthe, whi hast thou putte me abac: and whi go I sorwful while the enemy turmentith me.

Sende out thi liȝt and thi treuthe: tho ledden me forth and brouȝten in to thin hooli hil and into thi tabernaclis.

And I shal entre to the auter of god: to god that gladith my ȝougthe.

God, my god, I shal knowleche to thee in an harpe: my soule whi art thou sori, and why troublist thou me.

Hope thou in god, for ȝit I shal knowleche to him: he is the saluacioun of my cheer[92] and my god.

Glorie be.

Sepe expugnauerunt.[93]

ISRAEL, seie now: ofte thei fouȝten aȝens me fro my ȝougthe.

Ofte thei fouȝten aȝens me fro my ȝougthe: and sotheli[94] thei myȝten not to me.

Synneris forgiden[95] on my bac: thei made long her wickidnesse.

The iust lord shal bete the nollis[96] of synners: alle that haten syon be shent and turned abac.

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[91] *Et discerne causam meam.* "And dyscerne my cause." 1538. &c. "And defend." 1545.

[92] *Salutare vultus mei.* See above, note 46, p. 20.

[93] This and the next psalm omitted in the king's prymer.

[94] *Etenim non potuerunt mihi.* "And yet they could not hurt me," is the version of the later books. *Sóth*, A.S., true.

[95] *Fabricaverunt.* "Buylded." 1538.

[96] *Cervices. Cnolle*, A.S., vertex

Be thei maad as the hay of hous coppis:[97] that dried up bifore that it be drawun up.

Of which hey he that shal repe shal not fille his hond: and he that shal gedere hanfuls shal not fille his bosum.

And thei that passiden forth seiden not, the blessyng of the lord be on you: we blessen you in the name of the lord.

Glorie be.

Ps. Domine non est exaltatum.

LORD, myn herte is not enhauncide: neithir myn yȝen ben reisid.

Neithir I ȝede in greete thingis: neithir in merueilis aboue me.

If I feelide[98] not mekeli: but enhauncide my soule.

As a child wenyd on his modir: so ȝeldyng be on my soule.

Israel hope in the lord: fro this tyme now and til in to the world.

Glorie be. As it was.

Ant. Cum jocunditate.[99]

With gladnesse halewe we the mynde of blessid marie,[1] that she preie for us to oure lord iesu crist.

"With hard *noll* and uncircumcidid hertis." *Wiclif.* Dedis. c. 7. (*Richardson.*)

[97] In the later versions: "as hey to thetch houses."

[98] *Si non humiliter sentiebam.* "If I dyd nat thynke mekely."

[99] The following are the anthem and chapter of the king's prymer:—

"*Antiphona.* ℂ *The antheme.* "Saue vs good lorde wakyng, and kepe vs slepyng, that we may wake in Christ, and rest in peace.

"ℂ *The chapiter.* Thou art (o Lorde) in the myddest of vs, and inuocation of thy name is made ouer vs, forsake vs not, o lord our god."

[1] In the later books, "solemnise the memorye."

Capitulum. Sicut synamomum.

AS cauel[2] and bawme swote smellynge I ȝaf swoot odour: as triede myrre I ȝaf swetnesse of smellynge. Thankis to god.

Ympne. Virgo singularis.[3]

MAIDEN aloone meek among alle othir, make us unbounde of synne and to be deboner and chaast.

ȝyue us clene liif, greithe a sikir weye: so that we seynge god, be glad euermore.

Preisyng be to god the fadir, worshipe to the hiȝeste crist, and to the hooly goost: oon worshippe to hem thre. So be it.

Vers. Ecce ancilla.[4]

Lo, the handmaide of the lord, be it to me aftir thi word.

Ant. We glorifie.

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[2] "Unto the cynamom and bawme." 1538. &c.

[3] The hymn appointed in the prymer of 1545 is:—

"*Hymnus. Rerum creator omnium. The hymne.*

O Lorde, the maker of al thyng,
We pray the nowe in this euenyng:
Us to defende, through thy mercy,
From all disceite of oure enemy.
(2) Let vs neither deluded be,
Good lorde with dreame or phantasy:
Oure hearte wakyng in the thou kepe,
That we in sinne, fal not on slepe.
(3) O father, throughe thy blessed sonne,
Graunt vs this, oure peticion:
To whom with the holy gost alwaies,
In heauen and yearth, be laude and praise. Amen."

[4] The prymer of 1538, &c. and most editions of the horæ differ here: for example;

"*The versicle.* Beholde the handmayd of the lorde.

"*Answere.* Be it done vnto me accordyng to thy worde."

The prymer of 1545 agrees with the text.

Ps. Nunc dimittis.[5]

LORD, now thou leuest thi seruaunt: aftir thi word in pees.

For myn yȝen han seyn : thin heelthe.

That thou hast made redy: bifore the face of alle peplis.

Liȝt to the shewynge of hethen folk: and glorie of thi peple israel.

Ant. Glorificamus.[6]

We glorifien the modir of god, for of thee crist is born: make saaf alle that glorifien thee.

Vers. Lord god of vertu, conuerte us.

Resp. And shewe thi face, and we shulen be saaf.

Preie we. *Oratio. Gratiam tuam quæsumus.*

LORD, we bisechen helde[7] yn thi grace to oure inwittis, that bi the message of the aungel we knowe the incarnacioun of thi sone iesu

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[5] See in the appendix, for another translation of this canticle.

[6] Some editions of the horæ have *Glorificavit*: the reading of the text is correct.

The arrangement of the king's prymer is as follows, giving from the breviaries the collect now used at evening prayer in the reformed church of England:—

"℄ *The antheme.*

Graunt vs O lorde thy light, that we beyng deliuered from the darkenese of our heartes, may come to the very light whiche is Christ.

The versicle. Lorde heare my praier.

Answere. And let my cry come to thee.

℄ *Let vs pray.*

O Lorde God, we beseche the to lighten oure darknesse, and deliuer vs from al the daungers of this night, O mercyfull lorde. Thrugh our lorde Jesus Christ: who liueth and reigneth with the in unite of the holy spirit, worlde without end. Amen.

Blesse we the lorde.

Thankes be to god."

[7] *Infunde.* Inwittis. *Mentibus nostris infunde.* "Poure out

crist, and bi his passioun and cross be ledde to the glorie of his resurreccioun. Bi the same iesu crist oure lord, that with thee lyueth and regneth in oonhede of the hooly goost, god, bi alle worldis of worldis. So be it.

Blesse we to the lord. Thankis to god.

Hora completorii.[8]

At the hour of cumplyn is ȝouun to sepulture: The noble bodi of crist, hope of liif to come: diȝt[9] he is with sweete gumme, the scripturis ben fillid; Continuel mynde of anguish be this deeth to me. To thee crist I recommende with meek resoun: Thou that of brennyng loue suffrist for me: Be to me solace of deeth and of anguysh.

Vers. We worshipen thee.

Resp. For bi thin hooli passioun.

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thy grace in to our hertes." 1538. &c. "Lord, we biseche thee, sende thi grace in to oure hertis, that we bi the message," &c. *Cambr.* MS.

[8] "❡ *Ad completorium de cruce.*

Hora completorii datur sepulturæ,
Corpus Christi nobile spes vitae futuræ:
Conditur aromate, complentur scripturæ,
Jugi sit memoria mors hæc mihi curæ.

❡ *Complyn of the crosse.*

The hope of our lyfe euer to indure,
Of Jesu the noble and blessyd body,
At complyn tyme was brought to sepulture,
Spyced and adournyd fragraunt and swetely.
Of scripture complete was than the mystery,
Therfore Jesu graunte me thy wondes tendre,
And thy deathe busely styll to remembre."

In the Cambridge MS.:—

"At our of comepelyn, thei leiden hym in graue,
The noble bodi of Jesu, that mankynde schal saue:
With spicerie he was biried, hooli writ to fulfille,
Thenke we sadli on his deeth, that schal saue us from helle."

Then follows, in the printed books, the "recommendation" of the canonical hours which I have already given in the preface. *Has horas canonicas cum devotione.*

[9] *Dihtan.* A. S. To prepare; to furnish.

Oratio. Domine iesu criste.

LORD iesu crist, goddis sone. The glorious passioun.[10]

Antifne of oure lady. Salue regina.[11]

Heil, queene modir of merci, heil liif, swetnesse and

[10] Here seems a proper place to mention a custom which was appointed certainly in one religious house, if not in more than one. It throws some light also upon the disputed question of the early use of the angelic Salutation. I quote from the foundation statutes of the priory of Maxstoke, *temp. Edw. iij.* "Item zelo piæ devotionis, sicut cæteri Christi fideles erga matrem gratiæ, gloriosam virginem Mariam accensus, et ipsius virginis intuitu, erga beatissimam Annam ejusdem virginis genetricem: volo, ordino, et statuo, ut post officium matutinarum beatæ Mariæ virginis in choro completum; et post missam ejusdem; et post singulas horas, dicat sacerdos qui missam celebravit, et executor officii, eadem voce qua officium compleverit, salutationem angelicam, et recommendationem genetricis ejusdem, temporibus in perpetuum futuris, hoc modo. 'Ave Maria, gratia plena, Dominus tecum, benedicta tu in mulieribus et benedictus fructus ventris tui, Jhesus, Amen. Et benedicta sit venerabilis mater tua Anna, ex qua tua caro virginea et immaculata processit.' Et respondeat chorus. Amen." *Dugdale*, Monast. Anglic. vol. vj. p. 525. See above, note 76, p. 62.

[11] This is one of the well-known antiphons of the blessed Virgin which, according to the rubric of the revised Roman breviary, are to be sung every day (except three days before easter-day) after compline. These antiphons are *Alma redemptoris; Ave regina cœlorum; Regina cœli;* and *Salve regina:* of which the second and last are in the text of my MS. It has been said that they are not to be found in any breviary before about 1520; but there is no doubt that they were in use for some centuries earlier, and probably were introduced into general use by the Franciscans, about 1250. Martene, *de antiq. monach. ritibus*, tells us that at a general chapter of the English orders held at Northampton in 1444 these antiphons, or some of them, are intended in the following decree: "Ne serpens versutus quos vigilantes nequit sub-

oure hope. To thee we crien, outlawed sones of eue, to thee we siȝyen wethmentynge[12] and wepynge in this valei of teeris. Hiȝe therfore thou oure auocat, turne to us tho thi merciful yȝen, and shewe thou to us iesu the blessid fruyt of thi wombe aftir this exilyng.[13]

Vers. Virgyn modir of the chirche, euerlastynge ȝate of glorie, be thou to us refuyt anentis the fadir and the sone.

Resp. O merciful.

Vers. Virgyn, merciful virgyn, piteuous, o marie swete virgyn, here the preieris of meek men[14] to thee piteuously criyng.

Resp. O piteuous.

Vers. ȝete out preieris[15] to thi sone ficchid to the cross, ful of woundis: and for us al for scourgid: with thornes prickid: ȝouun gal to drynke.

Resp. O swete.

Vers. Gloriouse modir of god, of whom the sone was fadir: preie for us alle, that of thee maken mynde.

Resp. O meek.

Vers. Do awey blamys of wrecchidnesse: clense the

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vertere, dormientes noctanter illudat: opus esse censemus, ante somnum ejus implorare suffragium, per quam extitit caput ipsius serpentis contritum: hinc est quod statuimus, ut singulis diebus statim post completorium in honore B. Virginis una in choro cantetur antiphona tractim, pariter, et devote; post quam sequitur oratio de eadem." *Lib.* 1. *cap.* xij. Considerable information may be obtained as to the reputed authors, &c. of these antiphons, in *Gavantus*, tom. 2. 183, and *Daniel*, hymnologicus, tom. 2. 318. et seqq. It is scarcely necessary to add that they were omitted in the king's prymer.

[12] *Gementes.* "wepyng." 1538. "gronynge." *Cambr.* MS.

[13] The later books commonly repeat here the additional verse (not broken up, as in the present manuscript, into responses), "O clemens, o pia, o dulcis Maria." The *Cambr.* MS. omits from hence to the *Hail Marie* before the first collect, and again, after the collect has only an anthem "meritis et precibus," a short prayer below, and ps. *de profundis*.

[14] *Omnium clamantium.*

[15] *Funde preces.*

filthe of synneris: ȝyue to us thurȝ thi preieris liif of blessid men.

Resp. O celi.[16]

Vers. Reiside aboue heuenes: and crowned of thi child in this wrecchid vale, to giltie be lady of forȝeuenes.

Resp. O hooly.

Vers. That he lose us fro synnes for the loue of his modir: and to the kyngdom of clernesse lede us the kyng of pitee.

Resp. O merciful, o piteuouse, o hooli, o meek, o seli, o swete marie, heil.

Vers. Heil ful of grace, the lord is with thee.

Resp. Blessid be thou among alle wymmen, and blessid be the fruyt of thi wombe.

Preie we.

Oratio. Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui gloriose.

ALmyȝti euerlastynge god, that wondirli thurȝ the hooli goost madist redi bodi and soule of the gloriouse virgyne modir marie: that she deseruede to be maad the worthi dwellynge place of thi sone: graunte thurȝ whos mȳnde we ben maad glad, that we be delyuerid bi hir piteuous instaunce[17] fro yuels that now ben, and fro endeles deeth and sudeyn.[18] Bi crist oure lord. So be it.

An othir salutacioun to oure lady. Gaude virgo mater.[19]

Heil thou, virgyne modir of crist, that bi eere conceyuedist: thurȝ gabriels message.

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[16] This and the succeeding verse do not occur in the prymer of 1538, &c., nor in the earlier printed horæ of the sixteenth century.

[17] "Thoroughe the petycyon of her." 1538. &c.

[18] *A morte perpetua*, is the usual reading.

[19] Commonly called, "The fyue corporall ioyes of oure Lady." I subjoin the version of the later prymers :—

Heil thou, for ful with god, childedist[20] withoute peyne : with lilye of chastite.

Heil thou, for of thi sone whom thou sorwedist to suffre deeth : the resurrexioun shyneth.

Heil thou, crist up stiȝynge, and in to heuene thee seynge : is born bi his owne mouyng.

Heil marie, that aftir him stiȝest, and it is to thee greet honoure : in the palece of heuene.

Where the fruyt of thi wombe, bi thee is ȝouun us to use : in euerlastynge ioye. Amen.

Vers.[21] Thou art enhaunsid hooli modir of god.

Resp. To heuenli kyngdoms aboue cumpanyes of aungels.

Preie we.

Oratio.[22] *Omnipotens sempiterne deus qui diuina.*

ALmiȝti god, euerlastynge, which bi the godli greetyng of gabriel and the hooli natiuite of

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"Reioyse o virgyn, Christes moder deare,
Whiche hast conceyued, by bearynge with eare,
Of Gabriel's salutacyon:
Reioyse bycause, to God thou art lefe,
And baryst hym, without payne or grefe,
In chaste conuersacyon.
Reioyse, bycause thy moste deare sonne,
Whome thou dydest se thoroughe the herte ronne,
Rose with manyfestacyon:
Reioyse, bycause he ascendyd playne,
Before thy face into heuyn agayne,
By hys proper excytacyon.
Reioyse, bycause thou folowest hym,
And greate honoure to the is gyuen,
In the heuenly habytacyon:
Where the fruyte of thy wombe euerlastynge,
We may beholde thoroughe thy deseruynge,
In ioye without mutacyon."
(1538.)

[20] *Peperisti.*

[21] Instead of this verse and response, the later prymers have:—

"*The versycle.* Thou arte blessyd of thy sonne, O gloriouse Ladye.

The answere. For the fruyte of lyfe we receyued by the."

[22] This prayer is not that which usually occurs: but in-

crist thi sone, and his glorious resurrexioun and the wondirful assencioun of him, and the worshipful assumpcioun of marie, glorious modir of god, thou brouȝtist ioye to the same virgyn: graunte for her loue, that we be delyuerid fro al spice of sorwe, and to perfitli use euerlastynge ioies. By crist oure lord. So be it.

Blesse we god. Thankis to god.

Ant. of oure ladi.[23] *Aue regina celorum.*

Heil, queene of heuenes, modir of the kyng of aungels: o marie, flour of virgyns as the roose or the lilie: ȝete out preieris to thi sone for the heelthe of feithful men.

Vers. Hooli goddis modir, preie for us.

Resp. That we be maad worthi to the forbiheestis of crist.

Preie we. *Oratio.* *Meritis et precibus sue.*

Thurȝ the disseruyngis and preieris of his piteuous modir blesse us the sone of god the fadir. So be it.

For alle cristen soulis.[24] *De profundis clamaui.*

LORD, I criede to thee fro depthis: lord, wel heere thou my vois.

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stead, a Latin or an English collect, of which the latter is: "O God whiche with double ioye haste fulfylled the most blessyd Mary, aswel in the concepcyon, as in the byrth of thy ryght entierly beloued sonne (her virgynyte saued) whiche also haste multyplyed her ioyes thoroughe the resurreccyon of her sayde son: graunte we beseche the that by her merytes and prayour we may attayne to that unspekeable ioye, where as (she beynge assumpte) dothe nowe enioye with the in heuen for euer. By Chryst our lorde. So be it." (1538. &c.)

[23] Instead of this we commonly find "the .vij. spirytuall ioyes of our Lady," another anthem, response, and prayer: and frequently the "prayer to our blessyd Lady for the pestylence." *Stella cœli.*

[24] "Pietas ecclesiæ erga de-

Myn[25] eeris be maad ententif: in to the vois of my bisechinge.

Lord, if thou kepist wickidnesses: lord, who shal susteyne.

For merci is at thee: and lord for thi lawe I abood thee.[26]

My soule susteynede in his word: my soule hopide in the lord.

Fro the morwetid keping til to nyȝt: Israel hope in the lord.

For whi, merci is at the lord: and plenteuous redempcioun is at him.

And he shal aȝenbie israel: fro alle the wickidnessis therof.

Lord, haue merci of us.

Crist, have merci of us.

Lord, haue merci of us.

Oure fadir.

Heil marie.

And lede us not into temptacioun. But delyuere us fro yuel.

Euerlastynge reste, lord, ȝyue to hem: And perpetuel lyȝt shyne to hem: Fro the ȝate of helle: Delyuere, lord, the saulis of hem: I bileue to se the goodis of the lord: In the lond of lyuyng men.

Reste thei in pees. So be it.

Preie we. *Oratio. Fidelium deus.*[27]

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functos ea est, ut peracto officio divino ad utilitatem vivorum, suffragetur statim et defunctis, qui degunt in purgatorio: eo versu finali addito: *Fidelium animæ*, &c." *Gavantus*, tom. 2. 182. The learned author adds, "cujus ritus non meminere antiqui."

[25] *Thine?* "Fiant aures tuæ intendentes."

[26] *Sustinui te, Domine.*

[27] Not only are these suffrages for the dead sometimes omitted

GOD, the maker and aȝenbiere of alle feithful men: graunte thou remyssioun of alle synnes to the saulis of thi seruauntis men and wymmen: that thei thurȝ piteuouse preieris togider take the forȝyuenesse which thei han euer desirid: that lyuyst and regnest god bi alle worldis of worldis. So be it.

Reste thei in pees. So be it.

Oratio. The soulis of alle feithful deed men bi the merci of god reste in the pees of iesu crist. So be it.

Blesse ye.

The lord blesse.

God ȝyue grace to the quyke, and to the deede reste, and forȝyuenesse to the chirche, and to the kingdom pees and concorde, and to us synneris liif and endeles glorie. Amen.[28]

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in the editions of the horæ (as, I believe, in all of queen Mary's reign as well as in earlier ones), but this collect is frequently varied. Thus in the horæ of 1508 and 1520, &c. we have:—

"Absolve, quæsumus, Domine, animas famulorum famularumque tuarum ab omni vinculo delictorum ut in resurrectionis gloria inter sanctos tuos resuscitati respirent. Et animæ omnium fidelium defunctorum per misericordiam Jesu Christi in pace requiescant. Amen."

In the prymer of 1538 and others, we have:—

"*Inclina, Domine, aurem tuam.* Lorde, inclyne thyne eare vnto our prayers, wherin we ryght deuoutly call vpon thy mercy, that thou wylte bestowe the soules of thy seruauntes, both men and women, (whyche thou haste commaunded to departe fro this worlde) in the countrey of peace and reste, and further cause them to be made parteyners with thy sayntes. By Chryst our lorde. So be it."

[28] "The soules of all true beleuers beynge deade, by the mercy of god may reste in peace. So be it." 1538. &c. The following curious variation occurs in many of the early printed horæ; for example, in the two just cited of 1508 and

An orisoun to oure ladi.[29]

O MARIE al vertu makith thee fair: alle seyntis honouren thee in the cuntre of heuene: alle thei blessen thee and seyn preisynge to thee. Heil ful of grace, for the woundis of iesu crist whiche thou wepynge saiȝ blodi for oure wrecchidnesse make us worthi to se thee, and in seynge thee, to ioien in euerlastynge glorie. Amen.

Heil and ioie thou, marie, queene of heuene: lady of the world: empresse of helle: modir of chast counceil: haue merci on us and on al cristen peple, and lat us neuer synnen deedly but graunte us to fulfille thi moost hooly wille. Amen.

¶ *Here bigynnen the seuene salmes.*[30]

Domine ne in furore. ps.[31]

LORD repreue thou not me in thi strong vengaunce: neithir chastise thou me in thin ire.

Lord, haue thou merci on me, for I am siik:

1520: "God haue mercy on all cristen soules.

"*Ant.* God saue the kyng, and bryng vs the blysse that neuer shal haue endyng. Amen."

[29] This is an additional and occasional collect: not belonging to any of the offices which have gone before. In some editions, both manuscript and printed, many prayers are inserted here: in others they are omitted altogether.

[30] These psalms were very anciently selected, and known by name as the *seven psalms* or *penitential.* St. Augustin is said to have desired them to be read to him, when about to die: and they are in the earliest ordines Romani. Cassiodorus, cited by *Bona*, div. psalmod. cap. xiv. 1, and by *Gavantus*, tom. 2. 272, gives us the reason why they are seven in number: "quia totidem modis remittentur peccata nostra; baptismo, passione

lord, make thou me hool, for alle my bonys ben troublid.

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martyrii, eleemosyna, dimittendo aliis, convertendo alios, abundantia charitatis, et pœnitentia." Cardinal Bona observes: "Quod antiqui canones septennem pœnitentiam pro gravioribus peccatis imposuerunt; deinde legimus in sacris paginis, quod leprosus mundandus septies aspergebatur: quod Naaman Syrus septies lavari in Jordane jussus est ab Elisæo; quod septimo anno fiebant remissiones, eratque magnus jubilæus post quadratum septenarium. Non ergo sine causa horum psalmorum numerus ad septenarium redactus est, ut septuplum expurgati a septem plagis immunes, exclusis septem dæmoniis, septiformis Spiritus gratia illustremur." cap. xiv. § 1.

Anciently the clergy were obliged after lauds to recite these psalms, and to this effect we find frequent orders in the statutes and regulations of the old religious houses. For example, the hospital of St. Leonard; *Dugdale*, vol. vj. p. 610. But this obligation was removed, except on fridays during Lent, by the bull of pope Pius V; unless a custom was to be still observed of reciting them in choir.

In many editions of the horæ and prymers an antiphon, *Ne reminiscaris*, is appointed before the first psalm: this seems to have been added generally about the end of the sixteenth century, and is now ordered in the Roman breviary. The complete antiphon is at the end of the seventh psalm in the Sarum breviaries. "Ne reminiscaris, Domine, delicta nostra, vel parentum nostrorum, neque vindictam sumas de peccatis nostris." *Tobias*, cap. iij. ver. 3. The first antiphon is omitted in the king's prymer of 1545; and, as will be seen presently, is considerably lengthened at the end of the seven psalms. The usual antiphon is included in the king's litany, and is still retained in that of the reformed English church.

[31] *Contra iram*. Brev. Sarum. "*A feruent praier of the sinner, desiryng to be cured: and his enemies to be vanquished.*" The king's prymer.

The printed horæ and prymers of the use of Sarum almost always have a woodcut at the beginning of the seven psalms: sometimes representing the battle in which Uriah was slain, or most commonly Bathsheba bathing and David looking at her from a window. In manuscripts of the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries there are illuminations representing the same

And my soule is troublid greetli : but thou lord how longe.

Lord, be thou conuertid,[32] and delyuere my soule : make thou me saaf for thi merci.

For noon is in deeth whiche is myndeful of thee : but in helle who shal knowleche to thee.

I trauelide[33] in my weilyng, I shal waische my bedde bi ech nyȝt : I shal moiste my bedstre[34] with my teeris.

Myn iȝe is disturblid of woodnesse : I wax eelde[35] among alle myn enemyes.

Alle ye that worchen wickidnesse departe fro me : for the lord hath herd the vois of my wepinge.

The lord hath herd my biseching : the lord hath receyued my preiere.

Alle myn enemyes be ashamed greetli and be disturblid : be thei turnede togidere and be thei ashamed ful swiftly.

Glorie be.

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subjects. Not seldom also some English verses and other woodcuts are placed before the beginning of each psalm. I shall give these verses in their order from a prymer of 1532, Paris, Kerver, 12mo. They are also in the two editions of the enchiridion. See *Dissert. on the service books.*

"Psalms. vi. Dauid seyng Bersabee bathe in a well,
Was sodenly moued with her beaute :
Sayd to his seruaunt, go thou and tell,
Uryes wyfe that she come speke with me."

[32] *Convertere Domine.* "Tourne the o lorde." The later versions, and prymer of 1545.

[33] *Laboravi.*

[34] *Stratum meum.* My bed. 1538. My couche. 1545.

[35] *Inveteravi.* I have waxen olde. 1538. I am withered. 1545.

Ps. Beati quorum.[36]

BLESSID ben thei whose wickidnessis ben forȝouun: and whos synnes ben hilid.[37]

Blissid is the man to whom the lord arettide[38] not synne: nethir gile is in his spirit.

For I was stille, my boonys wexiden eeld: while I cried al day.

For bi day and nyȝt thi hond was maad greuous on me: I am turned in my wrechidnesse while the thorn is sett yn.[39]

I maad my synne knowun to thee: I hidde not myn unriȝtfulnesse.

I seide I shal knowleche aȝen me myn unriȝtfulnesse to the lord: and thou hast forȝoue the wickidnesse of my synne.

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[36] Ps. xxxj. *Contra superbiam.* Brev. Sar. "*Howe the penitent person shulde bewayle his sinnes, pray vnto God, and reioyce in him.*" The king's prymer.

"❡ Dauyd the better to do this
 entent,
Sent Urye to his capytayn Joab:
In the vawarde he bade he
 sholde be sent,
Where Amon sones slewe hym
 before raab." (1532.)

[37] *Hél-an.* A. S. to cover. *Quorum tecta sunt peccata.* Whose synnes be couered. 1538. 1545. &c. The word "to hele" is still in common use in the north of Cornwall. If a roof is injured, or a house being built is nearly finished, the "helyer" is sent for "to hele" it.

[38] *Arretare*, says Du Cange, is the same as *retare*, *rettare*, for *rectare*, to warn an accused person to do *right; arrette*, says Skinner, seems to mean to censure, to estimate, from the Fr. *arrester*, to judge. Tyrwhitt—to impute to. The A. S. *aretan* signifies to correct, set right. *Skeat.*

"Sothell to him that worchith not,——his feith is *arettid* to rightwysnesse." *Wiclif.* Rom. c. 4. (*Richardson.*)

Beatus vir cui non imputavit Dominus. Shal nat ympute. 1538. 1555. &c. Hath not imputed. 1545.

[39] *Dum configitur spina.*

For this thing ech hooli man shal preie to thee: in couenable tyme.[40]

Netheles in the greet flood of many watris: tho shulen not neiȝe to thee.[41]

Thou art my refuyt fro tribulacioun that cumpasside me: thou my fulli ioying, delyuere me fro hem that cumpassen me.

I shal ȝyue undirstonding to thee, and shal teche thee: in this weie whiche thou shalt go I shal make stidefast myn iȝen on thee.

Nile ye be maad as an hors and mule: to which is noon undirstonding.

Lord, constreyne thou the chekes of hem with a bernacle and bridel:[42] that neiȝen not to thee.

Manye betingis ben of the synnere: but merci shal cumpasse him that hopith in the lord.

Ye iust men be glad and make fulli ioie in the lord: and alle ye riȝtful of herte haue glorie.

Glorie be.

Ps. Domine ne in furore. ij^{us}.[43]

LORD, repreue thou not me in thi stronge veniaunce: nethir chastise thou me in thin ire.

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[40] *In tempore opportuno.* In tyme conuenient. 1538. &c.

[41] *Non approximabunt.*

[42] *In camo et fræno maxillas eorum constringe.* Bynde theyr mouthes with snaffle and bridle. 1538. 1545. &c.

[43] Psalm xxxvij. *Contra gulam.* Brev. Sar. "¶ *The penitent person, sore greued with the burden of sinne, calleth vpon God for ayde, and betaketh him selfe to his mercy.*" The king's prymer.

"¶ For this cruell synne Nathan
the prophete,
Dauyd reproued, and blamed
gretely:
Wherfore dauyd with heuynesse
replete,
Tenderly wepyng cryed, peccaui." (1532.)

For thin arowis ben ficchid in me: and thou hast confermed[44] thin hond on me.

Noon heelthe is in myn flesch, fro the face[45] of thin ire: no pees is to my bonys, fro the face of my synnes.

For my wickidnessis ben gon ouer myn heed: as an heuy birthen tho ben maad heuy on me.

Myn heelid wondes weren rotun and ben brokun:[46] fro the face of myn unwisdom.[47]

I am maad a wreche and I am bowid doun til in to the ende: al day I entride sorwful.

For my leendis ben fillid with scornyngis:[48] and heelthe is not in my fleish.

I am turmentide and maad low ful greetly: I roride for the weiling of myn herte.

Lord, al my desiir is bifore thee: and my weiling is not hid fro thee.

Myn herte is disturblid in me: my vertu forsook me and the liȝt of myn iȝen and it is not with me.

My frendis and my neiȝboris: neiȝeden and stoden aȝens me.

And thei that weren bisidis me stooden afer: and thei diden violence that souȝten my liif.

And thei that souȝten yuels to me spaken vanytees: and thouȝten gilis al day.

But I as a deef man herde not: and as a doumb man not openynge his mouthe.

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[44] *Et confirmasti manum tuam.* Thou hast enforced. 1538. Thou hast layde. 1545.

[45] *A facie.* In regarde of. 1538. Because of. 1545.

[46] *Putruerunt et corruptæ sunt cicatrices meæ.* My woundes have putrefied and festeryd. 1538. My woundes are putrified and roten. 1545.

[47] *Insipientiæ.*

[48] *Illusionibus.* Illusions. 1538. 1545. &c.

And I am maad as a man not heeringe: and not hauynge in his mouth reprouyngis.[49]

For I hopide in thee: my lord god thou shalt heere me.

For I seide lest ony tyme myn enemyes haue ioie on me: and the while my feet ben moued thei spaken greet thingis on me.

For I am redi to betyngis:[50] and my sorwe is euer in my siȝt.

For I shal telle my wickidnesse: and I shal thenke for my synne.

But myne enemyes lyuen and ben confermed on me: and thei ben multipliede that hatiden me wickidli.

Thei that ȝelden yuels for godis bacbitiden me:[51] for I suede[52] goodnesse.

My lord god, forsake thou not me: go thou not awei fro me.

Lord god of myn heelthe: biholde thou in to myn help.

Glorie be.

Ps. Miserere mei.[53]

GOD, haue merci on me: aftir thi grete merci.[54]

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[49] *Redargutiones.* Counter-checkes. 1538. &c.

[50] *In flagella.* Unto scourges. 1538. To be scourged. 1545.

[51] *Qui retribuunt mala pro bonis detrahebant mihi:* Detracted me. 1538. Were against me. 1545.

[52] *Sequebar.*

[53] Psalm. l: *Contra luxuriam.* Brev. Sar.: "¶ *A praier of the penitent, earnestly acknowledgyng his vngodly life, and crying for mercy to be clensed from sinne, and callyng for the spirit of God to be confirmed in grace.*" The king's prymer:—

"¶ Kyng dauid by gad was admonysshed,

And bi the mochilnesse[55] of thy merciful doyngis: do thou awei my wickidnesse.

For to chuse warre, famyn, or pestylence:
Pestylence he chase, wherby there perysshed,
lxx. M. for his offense." (1532.)

[54] "Haue merci of me god. after þi grete mercy.

And after þe mechelnesse of þi mercies. do aweie my wickednesse.

Wasche me more of my wickednesse. and of my synne clens me.

For I knowe my wickednesse: and my synne is euere aȝens me.

To þe alone I haue synned and bifore þe I haue do Iuel. þat þou be riȝtleched in þi wordes and þat þou ouer come whan þou demest.

For lo in wickednesses I am conceyued. and in synnes my moder conceiued me.

For lo þou louedest treuþe. þe vncertayn and þe hidde þinges of þi wisdom þou schewdest to me.

Thou schalt sprenge me lord with ysope. and I schal be clensed. þou schalt wasche me and I schal be maad whitter þan þe snow.

To myn heringe þou schalt ȝife ioie and mirþe. and meked bones scholle be glade.

Torne aweie þi face fro my synnes. and do aweie all my wickednesses.

Make a clene hert in me god. and make newe a riȝtful gost in my gottes.

Caste nat me fro þi face. and þi riȝtful gost bere nat fro me.

Ȝeld me ioie of þin helþe. and wiþ þi principal gost conferme þou me.

I schal teche wicked men þi weies and schrewes schollen torn to þe.

Deliuere me of blodi men god. god of myn helthe and my tonge schal gladie þi riȝtwisnesse.

Lord þou schalt open my lippes. and my mouþ schal schewe þi preisinge.

For ȝif þou woldest I hadde ȝife sacrefice. sothlice in offringes þou schalt nat delite þe.

Sacrifice to god is a goost angred. þe herte contrite and meked god þou schalt nat despise.

Goodliche do lord in thi good wille to syon. þat þe walles be edefied of ierusalem.

Than thou schalt accepte þe sacrefice of riȝtwisnesse offringes and brent sacrefice. þan scholle þei putte calfes upon thin auter. Ioie." *Add. MS.* 27592.

[55] *Secundum multitudinem.*

"Thou shalt be wedded unto on of tho,
That han for thee so mochel care and wo." *Chaucer.*

More waishe thou me fro my wickidnesse: and clense thou me fro my synne.

For I knowleche my wickidnesse: and my synne is euere aȝens me.

I haue synned to thee aloone, and I haue do yuel bifore thee: that thou be iustifiede in thi wordis and ouercome whanne thou art deemed.

For lo I was conceyued in wickidnessis: and my modir conceyued me in synnes.[56]

For, lo, thou louedist truthe: thou hast shewid to me the uncerteyn thingis and priuy of thi wisdome.

Lord, sprenge thou me with ysope and I shal be clensid: waishe thou me and I shal be maad whit more thanne snow.

ȝyue thou ioie and gladnesse to myn heeryng: and boonys maad meke shulen ful out make ioie.

Turne awei thi face fro my synnes: and do awei alle my wickidnessis.

God make thou a clene herte in me: and make thou newe a riȝtful spirit in myn entrailis.

Caste thou not me awei fro thi face: and take thou not awei fro me thin hooli spirit.

ȝyue thou to me the gladnesse of thi saluacioun: and conferme thou me with the pryncipal spirit.

I shal teche wickid men thi weies: and unfeithful men shulen be conuertid to thee.

God, the god of myn heelthe, delyuere thou me fro bloodis:[57] and my tunge shal ioifulli synge thi riȝtfulnesse.

Lord, opene thou my lippis: and my mouth shal tell thi preisyng.

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[56] *In peccatis.* My mother polluted with synne. 1538. In sinne. 1545.

[57] *De sanguinibus.* From blud-shed. 1545.

For if thou haddest wolde sacrifice, I hadde ȝoue: truely thou shalt not delite in brent sacrifisis.

Sacrifise to god is a spirit troublid: god, thou shalt not dispise a contrite herte and maad meek.

Lord, do thou benyngneli[58] in thi good wille to syon: that the wallis of ierusalem be bildid.

Thanne thou shalt take pleasauntli the sacrifise of riȝtfulnesse, offringis and brent sacrifisis: thanne thei shulen putte caluys on thin auter.

Glorie be.

Ps. Domine exaudi.[59]

LORD, wel heere thou my preier: and my crie come to thee.

Turne thou not awei thi face fro me: in what euer day I am troublid, bowe doun thin eere to me.

In what euer day I shal inwardli clepe thee:[60] heere me swiftli.

For my daies han failid as smoke: and my boonys han dried up as critouns.[61]

I am smytun as hey and myn herte dried up: for I haue forȝete to ete my breed.

Of the vois of my weiling: my boon cleuyde to my fleish.

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[58] *Benigne fac.* Deale gently. 1538. &c.

[59] Psalm. cj: *Contra avaritiam.* Brev. Sar.: "¶ *A sore complaint of the godly man, beyng greuously handled of the wicked people, and makyng his mone to almighty God.*" The king's prymer:—

"¶ Dauyd for his synne gretely dyde complayne
Feryng the hate of god for his vyce:
Upon darena an hye mountayne,
By counsell of gad he dyde sacrifice." (1532.)

[60] *Invocavero te.* In what day soever I call upon thee. 1545. The prymer of 1538 repeats "that I am troubled;" an evident error: copied however in the other editions up to 1543, and again in the prymers of queen Mary, of 1555, 1557, &c.

[61] *Sicut cremium.* As a fyre brand. 1545.

I am maad liik a pellican of wildirnesse: I am maad as a nyȝt crowe in an hous.

I wakide and I am maad: as a solitarie sparowe in the roof.

Al day myn enemyes dispiseden me: and thei that preiseden me sworen aȝens me.

For I eete aishis as breed: and I medlide my drynk with wepynge.

Fro the face of the ire of thin indignacioun: for thou reisyng me hast hirtlid[62] me doun.

My daies bowiden aweie as shadowe: and I wexide drie as hey.

But, lord, thou dwellist withouten ende: and thi memorial in generacioun and into generacioun.

Lord, thou risinge up shall haue merci on sion: for the tyme of hauynge merci cometh, for the tyme cometh.

For the stoonis therof plesiden thi seruauntis: and thei shulen haue merci on the lond therof.

And, lord, hethen men shulen drede thi name: and alle kingis of erthe shulen drede thi glorie.

For the lord hath bildid syon: and he shal be seen in his glorie.

He biheeld on the preier[63] of meke men: he despiside not the preier of hem.

Be thes thingis writun in anothir generacioun: and the peple that shal be maad shal preise the lord.

For he biheelde fro his hooly place: the lord lokide fro heuene in to erthe.

For to heere the weilyngis of feteride men: and for to unbynde the sonys of slayn men.

---

[62] *Allisisti me.* Cast me against the grounde. 1545.

"And where ever he takith him he hurtlith him down (*allidit*), and he foometh." *Wiclif.* Mark. c. 9. (*Richardson.*)

[63] *Respexit in orationem.*

That thei telle in syon the name of the lord: and his preisyng in ierusalem.

In gaderinge to gider peplis in to oon: and kingis that thei serue the lord.

It answerid to him in the weie of his uertu: telle thou to me the fewnesse of my daies.[64]

Aȝen clepe thou not me in the myddel of my daies: thi yeris ben in generacioun and into generacioun.

Lord, thou foundedist the erthe in the begynnyng: and heuenes ben the werkis of thi hondis.

Tho shulen perish but thou dwellist parfitly:[65] and alle shulen wexe eeld as clooth.

And thou shalt chaunge hem as an hiling,[66] and tho shulen be chaungid: but thou art the same and thi yeeris shulen not faile.

The sonys of thi seruauntis shulen dwelle: and the seed of hem shal be dressid[67] in to the world.

Glorie be.

Ps. De profundis clamaui.[68]

LORD, I cried to thee fro depthis: lord, wel heere thou my vois.

---

[64] *Respondit ei in via virtutis suæ: paucitatem dierum meorum nuntia mihi.* This reading and the translation (in effect) of the text is followed by the early horæ, the prymers of 1538, 1543, &c., and again by those set forth in queen Mary's reign. The king's prymer has the same in its text, but in the margin, *Afflixit in via fortitudinem meam, abbreviavit dies meos.* This the psalter in the English Prayer book follows: so also the prymer of Edward the sixth and the bible of 1611.

[65] *Tu autem permanes.*

[66] *Hél-an.* A.S. to cover. See note 37, p. 84.

"Therfore the woman schal haue an hilyng on her head." *Wiclif.* 1. Corynth. c. xi. (*Richardson.*)

[67] *Dirigetur.* Shal be dyrected. 1538. Shal stand fast. 1545.

[68] Psalm. cxxix: *Contra invidiam.* Sar. brev.: "¶ *The syn-*

Thin eeris be maad ententif: in to the vois of my bisechyng.

Lord, if thou kepest wickidnessis: lord, who shal susteyne.

For merci is at thee: and lord for thi lawe I abood thee.

My soule susteyned in his word: my soule hopide in the lord.

Fro the morwetide kepinge til to nyȝt: israel hope in the lord.

For whi, merci is at the lord: and plenteuous redempcioun is at him.

And he shal aȝenbie israel: fro alle the wickidnessis thereof.[69]

Glorie be to the fadir.

Ps. Domine exaudi.[70]

LORD, heere thou my preier, with eeris perceyue thou my bisechynge: in thi treuthe heere thou me in thi riȝtfulnesse.

And entre thou not in to doom with thi seruaunt: for ech man lyuyng shal not be maad iust in thi siȝt.

---

ner beyng punished for his synnes desireth to be deliuered bothe from synne and punishement." The king's prymer:—

"❡ By counsele of the prophete Nathan,
Dauyd promyse vnto Bersabee:
After his reygne that her sone than,
Salamon sholde be kyng ouer Judee." (1532.)

[69] This psalm is not the same as that in p. 90.

[70] Psalm cxlj: *Contra acediam.* Sar. brev.: "❡ *The iust man beyng in aduersitie, praieth to be deliuered from all euil.*" The king's prymer:—

"❡ Dauyd seyng his last ende dyde come,
Called his counsell, and sayd vnto them:
To Salamon my sone I leue my kyngdome,
Whiche shall buylde the temple of hierusalem." (1532.)

For the enmye pursuede my soule: he made lou3 my liif in erthe.

He hath sett me in derk placis as the deed men of the world, and my spirit was anguyshid on me: myn herte was distroublid in me.

I was myndeful of eelde dayes, I bithou3te in alle thi werkis: I bithou3te in the deedis of myn hondis.

I heeld forth myn hondis to thee: my soule as erthe withoute watir to thee.

Lord, heere thou me swiftli: my spirit failide.

Turne thou not awei thi face fro me: and I shal be liik to hem that goen doun in to the lake.[71]

Make thou eerli thy merci herd to me: for I hopide in thee.

Make thou knowun to me the weie in which I shal go: for I reisid my soule to thee.

Delyuere thou me fro myn enemyes, lord I fledde to thee: teche thou me to do thi wille for thou art my god.

Thi good spirit shal lede me forth in to a ri3tful lond: lord for thi name thou shalt quykene me in thin equite.

Thou shalt lede my soule out of tribulacioun: and in thi merci thou shalt scatere alle myn enemyes.

And thou shalt leese[72] all hem that troublen my soule: for I am thi seruaunt.

Glorie be to the fadir.[73]

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[71] *In lacum.* Into a pit. 1545.

[72] *Et perdes omnes.*

[73] Quilibet psalmus concluditur cum Trinitatis glorificatione solita, a qua speratur divina gratia per pœnitentiam, gratia vero dicitur gloria Dei. *Gavantus*, tom. 2. 272. Compare *Ancient liturgies*, note on the "Gloria in excelsis."

Ant. Ne reminiscaris.[74]

Lord, haue thou no mynde of oure giltis, or of oure kynrede: nethir take thou wreche of oure synnes for thi name, lord.[75]

Nou bigynnen the fiftene psalmes.[76]

AD *dominum cum tribularer.*[77] Whanne I was sette in tribulacioun.

---

[74] This antiphon is omitted in the Cambr. MS.

[75] *Ne reminiscaris, Domine, delicta nostra vel parentum nostrorum, neque vindictam sumas de peccatis nostris.* To which the later horæ and prymers commonly add; *Parce, Domine, parce populo tuo quem redemisti pretioso sanguine tuo, ne in æternum irascaris nobis.*

The king's prymer of 1545 has a much longer antiphon, of which I give the English:—

"☾ *The antheme.* Remembre not (o lord God) oure olde iniquities, but let thy mercy spedely preuent vs, for we be very miserable: helpe vs God our sauiour, and for the glory of thi name, deliuer vs, be mercyfull and forgeue our sinnes, for thi names sake. Let not the wicked people say where is their God? we be thy people and the shepe of thy pasture, we shal geue thankes to the for euer, from age to age, we shall set furth thy laude and praise. To the be honour, and glory worlde without ende. Amen."

[76] These fifteen, from the 119th to the 134th psalm, are the *psalmi graduales*, the gradual psalms. They have been so called from the very earliest times: probably from the date of their composition. The most common opinion and the best founded seems to be that the name was given them because they were sung upon the fifteen steps of the temple: not only of the first but of the second temple. And a Chaldee tradition also exists, that after the captivity a flood poured out from the earth reaching to the height of fifteen cubits: which was stopt by the writing upon the steps the Ineffable Name. Hence the first of these psalms in the Chaldee version is entitled "Canticum, quod dictum est in ascensionibus abyssi."

As these psalms were composed by David it has been said that therefore they were not written because of the fifteen steps, but the steps must have been made because of the psalms. Thus St. Remigius upon the 119th: "psalmi isti, qui dicuntur cantica graduum, et sunt quin-

Leuaui oculos. I reisid myn iȝen in to.

Letatus sum. I am glad in thes thingis.

Ad te leuaui oculos. To thee I haue reisid.

Nisi quia dominus erat. Israel seie now nobut.

Qui confidunt in domino. Thei that tristen in the lord.

In conuertendo dominus. Whanne the lord turned.

Nisi dominus edificaverit. Nobut the lord bildith.

Beati omnes qui timent. Blessid be alle men that.

---

decim, non ad imitationem illorum graduum qui erant in templo Salomonis facti sunt, cum David longe ante filium præcesserit, hosque psalmos, sicut et alios in laudem Dei decantaverit: sed gradus illi per Salomonem ad imitationem earumdem virtutum quæ in psalmorum istorum numero designantur positi sunt." But, as it has been observed, David not only might have given most minute instructions to his son (as we know he did) about the materials and various parts of the building, but also, full of the Holy Ghost, might have composed these psalms to be sung upon the future steps of that temple, the foundations even of which he was not himself permitted to lay.

Much information may be obtained by the reader upon the origin and title of these gradual psalms or Songs of degrees: from *Calmet*, *Gavantus*, and *Pole* (synopsis), the latter of whom (tom. 2. 1318) has collected eleven reasons why they were so called.

The saying of these psalms daily is no longer binding upon the clergy of the Roman catholic church: the obligation, as of the penitential psalms, having been removed by the bull of pope Pius the fifth. An indulgence is however granted to those who do recite them, and they are commonly divided into three portions: each ending with a short litany and collect.

[77] This psalm and the next eleven are not repeated in the manuscript. They usually are in the printed editions. The king's prymer of 1545 and king Edward's of 1547 omit them altogether: and they were restored by queen Mary. In the enchiridions these psalmi graduales (it may be added) are called *psalmi communes*: sometimes, as for example in the Sarum horæ of 1531, Antw. 4to., and the prymer of 1557, by the "assignes of Ihon Wayland," the *quindecim psalmi penitentiales*.

Sepe expugnauerunt. Israel seie now ofte.
De profundis clamaui. Lord I criede to thee.
Domine non est exaltatum. Lord myn herte is not.

Ps. Memento domine dauid.

LORD, haue thou mynde of dauith: and of alle his myldenessis.[78]

As he swore to the lord: he maad a vow to god of iacob.

I shal not entre in to the tabernacle of my hous: I shal not stiȝe in to the bedde of my restynge.

I shal not ȝyue sleep to myn iȝen: and nappyng to myn iȝe liddis.

And reste to my templis, til I fynde a place to the lord: a tabernacle to god of iacob.

Lo, we herden the arke of testament[79] in effrata: we founden it in the feeldis of wode.

We shulen entre in to the tabernacle of him: we shulen worshipe in the place where his feet stode.

Lord, rise thou in to thi reste: thou and the arke of thi halewing.[80]

Thi prestis be clothid with riȝtfulnesse: and thi seyntis make ful out ioie.

For dauid thi seruaunt: turne thou not awei the face of thi crist.

The lord swoor treuthe to dauid, and he shal not make him veyn:[81] of the fruyt of thi wombe I shal sett on thi ceete.

If thi sonys shulen kepe my testament and my witnessyngis: thes which I shal teche hem.

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[78] *Omnis mansuetudinis ejus.* Of al his mekenes. 1538. &c.

[79] *Ecce audivimus eam in affrata.* In the later versions, "we haue harde her in effrata."

[80] *Sanctificationis tuæ.*

[81] *Non frustrabitur eum.*

And the sonys of hem til in to the world: thei shulen sitte on thi ceete.

For the lord chees syon: he chees it into dwellyng to him silf.

This is my reste in to the world of world: I shal dwelle heere for I chees it.

I blessinge shal blesse the widowe of it: I shal fille with looues the pore men of it.

I shal clothe with heelthe the prestis thereof: and the hooli men therof shulen make fulout ioiyng.

Thidur I shal brynge forth the horn of dauith: I made redi a lanterne to my crist.

I shal clothe hise enemyes with shame: but myn halewyng shal flour out on him.[82]

Glorie be to the fadir.

Ecce quam bonum et quam.

LO, how good and how merye it is: that britheren dwelle togidere.

As oynement in the heed: that goith doun in to the beerd, in to the beerd of aaron.

That goith doun in to the coler of his clooth: as the dewe of hermon that goith doun in to the hil of syon.

For ther the lord sente blessyng: and liif in to the world.

Glorie be to. As it was.

Ps. Ecce nunc benedicite.

LO, now blesse ye the lord: alle the seruauntis of the lord.

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[82] *Super ipsum autem efflorebit sanctificatio mea.* Upon him surely shall my sanctifycacyon flourysshe. 1538. &c.

Ye that stonden in the hous of the lord: in the forȝerdis[83] of the hous of our god.

In nyȝtis reise youre hondis in to hooli thingis: and blese ye the lord.

The lord blesse the fro syon: whiche lord maad heuene and erthe.

Glorie be. As it.

Ant. Parce domine.[84]

Spare lord, spare to thi peple, that thou hast bouȝt with thi precious blood: be not wrothe to us withouten ende.

Kyrie eleison.[85]

LORD, haue merci on us.
Crist, haue merci on us.
Crist, heere us.[86]

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[83] *In atriis.*

[84] The later horæ and prymers repeat here the *Ne reminiscaris* also: and add at the end *Ne in æternum irascaris nobis.* "Be neuer more angry with vs."

[85] "The letany" or "The lateny," or as the king's prymer has it, "The letany and suffrages;" a title followed by the prymers set forth by queen Mary. The Cambridge MS. has "Here enden the fiftene salmes: and here begynneth the letanie."

This litany varied of course according to the use of different churches: it bore the same general character but occasionally other prayers were joined to it, and some saints omitted, some added. The litany is usually attached in the revised Roman breviary to the seven penitential psalms, which are preceded by the fifteen: this order is occasionally found in the breviary *ad usum Sarum*, which latter does not always include the gradual psalms. But I think that without exception the Sarum horæ and prymers arrange the three—the penitential psalms, the fifteen, and the litany—in the order in which they are in the text of our present manuscript.

The litany now used after the penitential psalms in the Roman catholic church is that (says *Gavantus*, tom. 2. 272) which occurs in the *ordo Romanus*, "In benedictione ecclesiæ." The order of the saints was corrected and the number lessened by pope Pius the fifth; and it is now

God, fadir of heuenes: haue merci on us.

Sone of the, aȝenbier of the world, god: haue merci on us.

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not permitted to the Church of any country or province to add to or alter it; "inconsulta sancta sede apostolica." The saying of this litany is no longer obligatory, as of old, upon the clergy.

The invocations of the saints were first left out in the king's prymer of 1545; (I take no notice of that ordered by the king alone in 1544, nor of the unauthorised and heretical publications under the same name, which appeared during the previous ten or twenty years:) they were omitted of course during king Edward's reign: were restored under queen Mary: and finally omitted in the earliest litany of queen Elizabeth, and in her first Common prayer book.

The prymer of king Henry in Latin and English and in Latin only (the *Orarium*) begin the litany at once, immediately after the seven psalms, with *Pater de cælis*, "O God, the father of heauen." But the editions set forth in English only, printed by Whitchurch, have the following preface:—

"As these holye prayers and suffrages following are set furth of most godlye zeale for edefying, and stirring of deuotion of al true faythefull christian heartes: so is it thought conuenient in this common prayer of procession to haue it set furth and vsed in the vulgar tongue, for stirryng the people to more deuotion: and it shal be euery christen mans part reuerentlye to vse the same, to the honor and glory of almighty God, and the profit of their owne soules. And suche among the people as haue bokes and can reade, may reade them, quietly and softly to them selfe: and suche as can not reade, let them quietly and attentiuely geue audience in time of the sayde prayers, hauyng theyr myndes erect to almighty God, and deuoutly praying in theyr heartes, the same petitions whiche do entre in at theyr eares, so that with on sound of the heart and one accorde, God may be glorified in his churche.

¶ And it is to be remembred, that that which is printed in the great letters, is to be sayd or song of the priest with an audible voyce, that is to saye, so loude and so playnely, that it may wel be vnderstand of the hearers. And that which is in the litle letter, is to be answered of the quier, soberly and deuoutly."

A preface to the litany occasionally occurs in the Sarum

God, the hooly goost : haue merci on us.
The hooli trinite oo god :[87] haue merci of us.
Seynt marie, preie for us.[88]

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prymers : I know of it however in none earlier than 1530. The edition from which I now quote is 8vo. by *Nicolas le Roux*, Antwerp, M.D.xxxviij., "newly translated after the Latene texte :"—

"*The signification of this worlde* (sic) *Letany.*

"Mamercus byshop of Vienne, what tyme that a terrible earthe quake fell in his prouince, Leo the fyrste than beyng byshop of Rome, caused the people to assemble and to go together in a longe array, prayenge and callyng vpon God. Whiche thynge we nowe call procession : bicause we vse in the same to procede or go forthe. Hereof it came, than whan any greuous plague was eyther sente by god amonge the people, or any sodayne cause of gladnes chaunsed, processyon hath alwayes ben vsed, somtyme to pacifie goddes wrathe, and somtime to thanke hym of his benefites. For this cause dyd agapetus byshop of Rome fyrst institute that procession shulde be done euery sonday throughout the yere, and after hym Gregorie in the tyme of a common pestilence, caused more solempne ordre and syngyng to be vsed therin, and ordeyned this seruice, called Letany, whiche is a greke worde, and asmoche in englyshe to say, as supplication or prayer, wherof it hath taken his name : bicause that in our generall processions and rogation dayes, prayer and supplication is made vnto god for the people, and for all estates, accordyng to the counsayle of Saynt Paule, j. Timoth. ij. and dyuers other examples of scripture." I may add that Hilsey, in his prymer, set forth *at the commandment of Lord Thomas Crumwell*, inserted this preface to the litany. My copy of this book is 1540, ¶ *cum privilegio*, and the two leaves which should succeed the preface and contained the invocations have been torn out, according to the frequent orders to that purpose issued between 1545 and 1552.

The reader will find in the appendix two other early English litanies, from the *Douce MSS.* in the Bodleian library.

[86] These three omitted in the king's prymer.

[87] *Sancta Trinitas, unus Deus*. In the later versions, "Holy Trynyte, one God."

[88] The variations in the king's prymer may be seen in the Oxford reprint, 1834. Upon one point only I would make a remark : namely, on the petition to

Hooli modir of god, preie for us.
Hooli virgyn of virgyns, preie for us.
Seynt miȝhel, preie for us.
Seynt gabriel, preie for us.
Seynt raphael, preie for us.
Alle hooli aungels and archaungels, preie for us.
Alle ordris of hooly spiritis, preie for us.
Seynt Iohn baptist, preie for us.
Alle hooli patriarkis and prophetis, preie for us.
Seynt petre, preie for us.
Seynt poule, preie for us.
Seynt andreu, preie for us.
Seynt Iohn, preie for us.
Seynt Iame, preie for us.
Seynt philip, preie for us.
Seynt bartulmeu, preie for us.
Seynt matheu, preie for us.
Seynt thomas, preie for us.
Seynt Iacob, preie for us.
Seynt Symound, preie for us.
Seynt Iude, preie for us.
Seynt mathi, preie for us.
Seynt barnabe, preie for us.

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be delivered "from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities." This clause, after having retained its place through king Edward's reign in his Common prayer books and prymer, was (I need scarcely remind the reader) struck out in the time of queen Mary, and it is commonly supposed was never again inserted. But I possess a litany, printed separately upon a single sheet in small 8vo. of the earliest period of queen Elizabeth's reign, in which this petition occurs; word for word, as in the prymer of 1545 and the prayer books of king Edward. It is not however to be found in any prayer book of Elizabeth; not even in the earliest, by *Iugge & Cawood*, fol. of 1559.

Seynt mark, preie for us.
Seynt luk, preie for us.
All hooli apostlis and euangelistis, preie ye.
All hooli disciplis of the lord and innocentis, preie ye.
Seynt Steuene, preie for us.
Seynt line, preie for us.
Seynt clete, preie for us.
Seynt clement, preie for us.
Seynt sixte, preie for us.
Seynt corneli, preie for us.
Seynt cipriane, preie for us.
Seynt laurence, preie for us.
Seynt Vincent, preie for us.
Seynt George, preie for us.
Seynt Fabian, preie for us.
Seynt Sebastian, preie for us.
Seynt Gervas, preie for us.
Seynt Prothas, preie for us.
Seynt Cosme, preie for us.
Seynt Damiane, preie for us.
Seynt Dynys, with thi felowis,[89] preie for us.
Seynt Mauri, with thi felowis, preie for us.
Seynt ypolite, with thi felowis, preie for us.
Seynt victor, with thi felowis, preie for us.
Seynt Albon, preie for us.
Seynt Oswald, preie for us.
Seynt Edward, preie for us.
Seynt Edmunde, preie for us.
Seynt Thomas, preie for us.
Seynt Cristofre, preie for us.
Seynt Richard, preie for us.
Alle hooli martris, preie ye for us.

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[89] *Cum sociis tuis.*

Seynt Siluester, preie for us.
Seynt leo, preie for us.
Seynt Marcel, preie for us.
Seynt Martyne, preie for us.
Seynt Austyn, preie for us.
Seynt Ambrose, preie for us.
Seynt Jerom, preie for us.
Seynt Gregore, preie for us.
Seynt Cuthburt, preie for us.
Seynt Swithyn, preie for us.
Seynt Lithenard, preie for us.
Seynt Dunston, preie for us.
Seynt Gile, preie for us.
Seynt Willan, preie for us.
Seynt Damace, preie for us.
Seynt Andreue, preie for us.
Seynt Remige, preie for us.
Seynt Beneit, preie for us.
Seynt Edmund, preie for us.
Seynt Edward, preie for us.
Alle hooli confessouris, preie ye for us.
Seynt Marie maudelen, preie for us.
Seynt Marie egypcian, preie for us.
Seynt Perpetue, preie for us.
Seynt Anne, preie for us.
Seynt Katrine, preie for us.
Seynt Margarete, preie for us.
Seynt Agace, preie for us.
Seynt Agneis, preie for us.
Seynt Felicite, preie for us.
Seynt Cecilie, preie for us.
Seynt lucie, preie for us.
Seynt Scolastice, preie for us.
Seynt Helene, preie for us.

Seynt Julian, preie for us.
Seynt Cristyne, preie for us.
Seynt Purnel, preie for us.
Seynt radegunde, preie for us.
Seynt feith, preie for us.
Seynt hope, preie for us.
Seynt charite, preie for us.
Seynt tecle, preie for us.
Seynt Affra, preie for us.
Seynt Etheldrede, preie for us.
Alle hooli virgyns, preie ye for vs.
Alle hooli men and wymmen,[90] preie ye for us.
Lord, be merciful and spare us.
Fro al yuel: lord, delyuer us.
Fro the aweitingis of the fend:[91] lord delyuer us.
Fro endeles dampnacioun: lord delyuer us.
Fro dredeful pereles of oure synnes: lord delyuer us.
Fro feere of the enemy: lord, delyuer us.
Fro the spirit of fornicacioun: lord, delyuer us.
Fro alle unclennes of bodi and of saule: lord, delyuer us.
Fro unclene thouȝtis: lord, delyuer us.
Fro fleischli desiris: lord, delyuer us.
Fro wrathe and hate and al yuel wille: lord, delyuer us.
Fro pestilence of pride and blyndeness of herte: lord, delyuer us.

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[90] *Omnes sancti et sanctæ.* Some editions of the horæ add before this, *Omnes sanctæ viduæ et continentes.*

[91] *Ab insidiis diaboli.* In the later versions, "from the awaytes of the deuyll." "From alle temptaciouns of the deuel." *Camb.* MS.

Fro sudeyn deeth and unauysid:[92] lord, delyuer us.
Fro leytis and tempestis: lord, delyuer us.
Fro couetise of veyn glorie: lord, delyuer us.
Bi the preuytie[93] of thin hooli incarnacioun: lord, delyuer us.
Bi thin hooli natiuyte: lord, delyuer us.
Bi thi blessid circumcisioun and baptym: lord, delyuer us.
Bi thi fastynge and moche othir penaunce doynge:[94] lord, delyuer us.
Bi thin hooli passioun and moost piteuous deeth: lord, delyuer us.
Bi thi blessid biriynge:[95] lord, delyuer us.
Bi thi gloriouse rising fro deeth: lord, delyuer us.
Bi thi meruieilous sti3yng to heuene: lord, delyuer us.
Bi the grace of the hooli goost, counfortour: lord, delyuer us.
In oure of oure deeth: helpe us, lord.
In the day of dome: delyuere us, lord.
We synneris preyen thee to heere us.
That thou 3yue to us pees and verrei concord:[96] we preien thee to heere us.
That thi merci and thi pitee kepe us: we preien thee to heere us.
That thou fouche saaf to gouerne and defende thin hooli chirche: we preien thee to heere us.

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[92] *A subitanea et improuisa morte.* "From sodayne and vnprouyded deathe." 1538. &c.

[93] *Per mysterium.*

[94] Some editions of the Sarum horæ omit this invocation altogether: in no printed prymer do I remember the addition "moche othir penaunce doynge."

[95] *Per pretiosam mortem tuam.*

[96] "And verrei concord;" an unusual addition.

That thou yelde euerlastynge goodis to oure good doeris: we prein.[97]

That thou fouche saaf the lord of apostaile,[98] and ech degree of hooli chirche in good religioun: we preien thee to heere us.

That thou fouche saaf to ȝyue to oure kyngis and pryncis verrei pees and concord: we preien thee to heere us.[99]

That thou fouche saaf to visite our prelatis,[1] and councel alle that dwellen in hem: we preien thee to heere us.

That thou fouche saaf to kepe alle congregaciouns of thin hooli folk in thi blessid seruyse: we preien thee to heere us.

That thou fouche saaf to kepe alle cristen peple,

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[97] This petition is placed later in other litanies that I have examined.

[98] *Ut donum apostolicum.* In the later versions, "That the gyfte apostolyque——be kepte and saued."

[99] This and the succeeding are occasionally transposed. I notice it, because an unfair argument—and nothing is ever gained by unfairness—has been more than once brought against the litany of the reformed church of England; namely, that in it prayer is offered for the sovereign and royal family before bishops and the clergy. In fact, this is the arrangement in the text. Not less unfair or untrue is another objection which would blame the reformed church for naming "sedition, privy conspiracy, and rebellion" before "false doctrine, heresy and schism:" as if the revisers who in 1662 so ordered it thought these sins first to be prayed against as of the greater importance. But the author of such an argument must have forgotten that the petition in question, using a proper order, places "sedition, &c." in the lowest rank, rising gradually (as it were) to "hardness of heart, and contempt" of God's word, which undeniably are more perilous and dreadful sins than even heresy or schism.

[1] *Ut episcopos et abbates nostros.* Horæ ad usum Sarum.

bouȝt with thi precious blood: we preien thee to heere us.[2]

That thou delyuer our soulis and the soulis of oure fadir and modir[3] from euerlastynge dampnacioun: we preien thee to heere us.

That thou fouche saaf to ȝyue and kepe the fruytis of the erthe: we preien thee to heere us.

That thou fouche saaf to lede the yȝen of thi merci on us:[4] we preien thee to heere us.

That thou reise oure myndis to heuenli desiris: we preien thee to heere us.

That thou fouche saaf to enfourme us with riȝt rêuled undirstondyngis: we preien thee to heere us.[5]

That thou fouche saaf to biholde and releeue the meselis of pore men, and thrallis:[6] we preien thee to heere us.

That thou ȝyue to us hoolsum and resonable eir: we preien thee to heere us.[7]

That thou kepe oure bishops, and abbotis, and alle the peple bitakun to hem togider in thi seruyce: we preien thee to heere us.

That thou ordeyne in thin hooli wille oure daies and werkis: we preien thee to heere us.

That thou ȝyue euerlastynge reste to alle trewe deede:[8] we preien thee to heere us.

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[2] In most of the horæ, breviaries, and prymers another petition is inserted: "Ut omnibus benefactoribus nostris sempiterna bona retribuas." Thus rendered in the later versions: "That thou gyue all our benefactours euerlasting goodes." 1538. &c. See p. 107, note 97.

[3] *Et parentum nostrorum.*

[4] *Ut oculos misericordiæ tuæ super nos reducere digneris.*

[5] Omitted in the horæ and prymers which I have examined.

[6] *Miserias pauperum, et captivorum.*

[7] This and the next two petitions do not usually occur.

[8] *Ut omnibus fidelibus vivis ac defunctis.* In the later books:

That thou fouche saaf to heere us wel: we preien thee to heere us.

Sone of god, we preien thee to heere us.

Lombe of god, that doist awei synnes of the world, wel heere us lord.

Lombe of god, that doist awei synnes of the world: lord spare us.

Lombe of god, that doist awei synnes of the world: lord, haue merci on us.

Crist, wel heere us.

Lord, haue merci on us.

Crist, haue merci on us.

Lord, haue merci on us.

Oure fadir.

Heil marie.

And lede us not into temptacioun. But delyuer us fro yuel.

And, lord, thi merci come on us: thi saluacioun aftir thi speche.[9]

Lord, be thou to us a tour of strengthe: fro the face of the enemy.[10]

We han synned with oure fadris: we diden uniustli, we wrouȝten wickidnesse.

Lord, haue thou not mynde of oure eelde wickidnessis: thi mercies shulen soone bifore take us, for we ben ful moche maad poore.[11]

Preie we for al the staat of the chirche: thi

"That thou geue euerlastyng reste to all that beleue in the, bothe quicke and deade." 1538. &c.

[9] *Secundum eloquium tuum.* "accordynge to thy promyse."

[10] Not usually in the horæ or prymers.

[11] The petition in all the later editions is: *Domine non secundum peccata nostra facias nobis: Neque secundum iniquitates nostras retribuas nobis.* Lorde do nat with vs according to our synnes: Neyther rewarde thou vs after our vngodlynes.

prestis be clothid riȝtwisnesse, and thin halewis ful out glade thei.[12]

Lord, make saaf the king: and ful out heere thou us in the dai that we shulen inclepe thee.[13]

For oure brithren and sistris: mi god, make saaf thi seruauntis and handmaidis hoping in thee.

Lord, shewe to us thi merci: and ȝyue to us thi saluacioun.[14]

Lord, heere my preier: and mi cri come to thee. For al cristen peple. Lord make saaf thi peple and blesse to thin eritage: and reule hem and reise hem into withouten ende.

Lord, pees be maad in thi vertu: and plentee in thi touris.

Preie we for all feithful deede men and wymmen. Euerlastyng reste ȝyue to hem, lord, and perpetuel liȝt shyne to hem.

Lord, fulout heere myn orisoun: and my crie come to thee.

Preie we. *Orisoun. Deus cui proprium.*

GOD, to whom it is propre to be merciful and to spare euermore, undirfonge[15] oure preieris:

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[12] *Et sancti tui exultent.* And let thy sayntes reioyse. 1538.

[13] This petition does not occur in the later editions, either English or Latin.

[14] This petition and the next are also unusual.

[15] To *underfong:* to undertake. *Suscipe deprecationem nostram.* Take our prayer. 1538. &c.

Richardson cites some examples of the word, but not exactly in the present sense. His nearest is from Wiclif, "as I haue seid bifore, and now eftsoone I seie, if any preche to ghou besidis that that ghe han (accepistis) *underfonghe* he be accursid." Galathies, c. j.

"Ich *N.* undurfonge þe *N.* to my weddud housbonde, for beter, for wors, etc." Form in a Sarum missal in the Bodleian: early fifteenth century. *Barlow* MS. 5.

and the mercifulnesse of thi pitee asoile[16] hem, that the chayne of trespas bindith. Bi crist oure lord. So be it.

Oratio.[17] *Omnipotens sempiterne Deus qui facis.*

ALMYȜTYE eternall god, which alone doste greate wounders, graunte vnto thy seruauntes

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I remember no later example of the use of the word than about the end of the sixteenth century. Nash, describing in his "Lenten stuff" the walls of Yarmouth, says: "They have towres upon them sixteen: mounts underfonging and inflancking them; two of olde now three, which have their thundring tooles, to compell *Deigo Spaniard* to ducke, and strike the wind collicke in his paunch, if he praunce too neere them, and will not vaile to the queene of England."

[16] *Miseratio tuæ pietatis absolvat.*

[17] This is the first of the two collects which, as I have stated in the preliminary dissertation, are wanting in my manuscript, owing to the lower part of the leaf having been torn away. By referring to the appendix the reader will see that neither of the *Douce* MSS. contains this collect, nor is it in the Cambridge MS.: another, "Omnipotens sempiterne Deus salus æterna credentium" being appointed instead in all three. The *Rawlinson* MS. has neither one nor the other. I have therefore adopted into the text the translation of the prymer, so often quoted in these notes, 1538. With this agree another of the same year, by Nicolas Le Roux: the 4to. of 1543, Petit: the prymers of queen Mary: the Latin horæ of 1508, 1520, &c.: the two enchiridions; in short all the editions to which I have been able to refer.

This collect is not used in the reformed litany of the Common prayer book, but in the morning and evening prayers: according rather to the translation of the prymer of 1545, in which edition also the Latin text was altered.

Fortunately enough remains of the Latin title of the collect in my MS. to identify which of the two, both beginning with the same three words, it really is: the next two determine it: "qui facis."

The prymer, Add. MS. 27592, is imperfect and leaves are wanting in this particular place: but the small prymer mentioned in the dissertation fortunately supplies us with a contemporary version:—

thy bysshoppes, and to all congregacyons committed vnto them, the spiryte of grace. And to the ende that they may please the, powre out on them the perpetuall dewe of thy benediccyon. By Chryst our lorde. Amen.

Oratio. Deus, qui caritatis.

GOD, that bi the grace of the hooli goost in-ȝettist[18] ȝiftis of charite to the hertis of thi feithful seruauntis, ȝyue thou heelthe of bodi and soule to thy seruauntis men and wymmen, brithen and sistris, for whiche we preien thi mekenesse, that thei loue thee with alle uertu, and with alle loue fulfille tho thingis that ben plesyng to thee. Bi crist oure lord. So be it.

Oratio. Ure igne sancti spiritus.[19]

LORD, brenne thou oure reynes and oure hert with the fier of the hooli goost: that we serue

"Almyȝti god euerlastynge þat aloone dost many wondres, schewe þe spirit of heelful grace upon bisschopes þi seruauntis and vpon alle þe congregacion betake to hem: and ȝeete [A.S. geótan, to pour] in þe dew of þi blessynge, þat þei plese euermore to þe in trouþe. Be crist oure lord. So be it." *Add. MS.* 17011, *fol.* 66 *b.*

[18] *Infundis.* "Dost infuse" in the later books.

[19] Instead of this collect and the next the later editions (I believe I may say) always have these two, *Deus a quo sancta desideria*, and, *Ineffabilem misericordiam tuam.* I give the translation of these from the prymer of 1538:—

"O God, from whome all holy desyres, all good counselles and all iuste workes, do procede: gyue vnto vs the same peace which the worlde can nat gyue, that our hertes beyng obedyent to thy commaundementes (and the feare of our enemyes taken a waye) our tyme maye be peasyble thorough thy proteccyon. By Chryste our lorde."

"Lorde we beseche the to shewe vnto vs thyne unspekeable mercy, that thou bothe

to thee with a chaaste body, and plese to thee with a clene herte. Bi crist oure lord. So be it.

Oratio. Ecclesie tue.[20]

LORD, be thou plesed with the prayeres of thy churche, and graunte that alle erroures and aduersitees be destroyed, that thy cherche mowe serue to the in siker[21] pees.

Oratio. Fidelium deus.[22]

GOD that art makere.

Oracio. Pietate tua quæsumus domine.[23]

LORD, we bisechen thee for thi pitee; unbynde the bondis of alle oure synnes, and the blessid

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purge vs from all our synnes, and mercyfullye delyuer vs frome the punyshement that we deserue for the same. By Chryste our lorde."

[20] This is the other of the two prayers torn away from my manuscript. I have given the collect in the text from the *Douce* MS. 246.

The Museum manuscript gives the same version as in the text: with the exception "may serue to þee." *Add. MS.* 17011. fol. 67.

[21] Secure.

[22] Not repeated in the MS., having occurred before. See p. 79.

[23] The arrangement is the same here as usually in the editions up to 1545. But in the prymers of queen Mary another prayer is inserted between *Fidelium Deus* and *Pietate tua*, which I now cite from the edition of 1555, 4to., by *John Waylande*:—

"¶ *For the kinge and quene. Domine Deus exercituum.*

Lorde god of hostes, kinge most mighty and stronge, by whome kinges doe reigne, and in whose handes are the hertes of all kinges: graunte vnto thy welbeloued seruauntes, *P. & M.*, our king and quene, continual helthe of bodye and soule, that their hertes alwayes enclinynge to holsome and godly counselles: and the enemies of the common welth being vanquished, we may long enioye under them perpetuall peace,

and gloriouse marie goddis modir, euermore virgyn, with alle thi seyntis goynge bitwene, kepe us thi seruauntis, and our king,[24] and al cristen peple in al hoolynesse: and clense of vicis: liȝtne with vertues alle that ben ioyned to us by kynrede and felowship, or knowleche[25] and preiere, ethir alle cristene and ȝyue to us verrei concord and heelthe: moue aȝen[26] visible enmyes and unvysible: put of pestilence and hungur, and ȝyue charite to oure enemyes: and heelthe to hem that ben sike: and ordeyne the wei of thi seruauntis in prosperite of thin heelthe: and graunt to alle feithfulle qwike and deede liif and reste euerlastyng in the lond of liif. Bi the same crist oure lord. So be it. Amen.[27]

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and brotherlye concord. By christ our lorde. Amen."

I need scarcely refer the reader to the second collect for the queen in the communion service of the reformed church of England: of which the above seems rather to be the type, than the fragments which are cited by Mr. Palmer: *orig. liturg.* vol. 2. p. 38. The same collect occurs in the prayer book of king Edward, being introduced from ancient sources.

[24] In the Latin horæ this *regem nostrum* is generally omitted.

[25] *Vel confessione.*

[26] *Remove.* "Put from us" in the Cambridge MS. and the later books.

[27] In the later prymers and printed horæ there is frequently added here the following prayer, which was replaced in the editions of queen Mary:—

"*Per horum omnium sanctorum.*

Thoroughe the merytes, intercessyons, prayours, and suffrages of al these holy aungels, archaungels, patryarches, prophetes, apostles, euangelystes, martyres, confessours, virgyns, and all thy electe seruauntes, most mercyfull lorde, poure in to our hertes a fountayne of thearys, (*sic*, tears) to tende (*to the end*) we may perfytly knowe the offense of oure conscyence, and that we may truely confesse before the, the defaultes of all oure actes commytted, and thoroughe the lyberalyte of thy grace to haue assured pardone therof. By Chryst our lorde." 1538.

Heere bigynneth placebo.[28]

Ant. I shal plese.[29]

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[28] This is the Office of the dead: there are various names given to it in the old books. Sometimes, as in the text, the *placebo* from the antiphon at the beginning: or the *placebo and dirge*, the latter so called also from its first antiphon: sometimes the *vigiliæ mortuorum*, or *officium pro defunctis:* sometimes the *dirge* only, as in the prymers of 1538, 1543, and the king's prymer, &c.

Walafrid Strabo and Durand call this office *Agenda* "quia agere significat celebrare." *Gavantus*, 2. 264. Another name was *Exequiæ*, of which Durand gives us the explanation, lib. 7. cap. 35: "Officium seu obsequium in sepulturis mortuorum exequiæ vocantur, quia celebratur, dum mortui extra vivos sepeliendi feruntur: vel quia extra horas canonicas speciales, et singulares habent observantias." *Donatus* on the contrary, cited by Gavantus, defines *exequias* "quia mortuus præibat, cæteri sequebantur in funere. Cum autem hodie," adds that very learned ritualist, "in funere præcedat clerus cadaver mortui, dicere possumus, nos mortuum sequi, quia obiit ille prius." These are the most reasonable interpretations of the still common word *obsequies*, or *exequies;* and entirely to the reader's judgment may be left the decision which is the best.

The office of the dead (or dirge) consisted of two parts; the evensong or vespers, and the matins; which latter are occasionally divided into three nocturns and lauds. It had first vespers only: either for the less solemnity as Gavantus supposes, or mystically, "quod hoc officium finem habebit, quando animæ ab omni pœna liberatæ Deo fruentur." *Beleth.* cap. 160.

Anciently the regular clergy and those attached to cathedrals were bound to say this office very frequently, and daily during lent: in choir, after the corresponding hours appointed for the day. This most probably was the ancient rule in England, as it now is in the Roman catholic church; but I must remark it was not invariable. For example: the dirge and placebo are (as usual) ordered to be said daily in the regulations drawn up in 1293, for the hospital of St. Leonard, York. But the words of the statute are:—"respiciant libros usque primam pulsationem vesperarum: et tunc durante prima pulsatione vesperarum, et secunda, dicant placebo et dirige: classico pul-

sato, incipiant vesperas, &c." i.e. de die. *Dugdale*, Monast. Anglic. vol. 6. p. 610. Again, by the statutes of the founder of the hospital of Elsing Spital, in London, 1332: "Conveniant omnes—singulis diebus ante horam vesperarum in capella, et servitium mortuorum pro omnibus fidelibus defunctis, devote et aperta pronuntiatione, dicant. —Quo dicto, simul omnes, superpelliceis et aumuciis induti, vesperas et completorium, de die, decantent." *Dugdale*, Monast. Ang. vol. 6. p. 706.

But certain seasons were excepted: viz. during easter-tide, and the three days of the great week. The first was forbidden on account of the joy of the resurrection, with which nothing should be suffered to interfere; the latter because all our sorrow ought to be directed at such a time solely to the sufferings of our blessed Lord. This general obligation was removed from the clergy of the Roman catholic church by the bull of pope Pius V, except (as it would seem from the rubric prefixed to the office in the breviary) once a month, upon the first day not impeded by a feast of nine lections: but Gavantus argues, that the only day now of obligation is the 2nd of November, "commemoratio omnium fidelium defunctorum." The same pope extended the time of not saying it to the whole of the great week. The student must remember that anciently this office might be recited, when it was not lawful to say masses for the dead: upon which point see *Gavantus*, tom. 2. p. 266.

It is not known by whom this office was originally composed: some give it to one, some to another. Durand says that Origen added to it, having been handed down from the apostolic age: and cites St. Augustin as an authority: *Rational.* lib. vij. cap. 35. By others it is attributed to St. Augustine himself or to St. Ambrose. On one point all ritualists agree: that it is of the highest antiquity, and was used in the earliest ages of the Church.

I must refer the reader to Merati's additions to the commentary of Gavantus, vol. 2. p. 267, for an account of the reasons why the memory of the dead was anciently more particularly observed upon the 3rd, 7th and 30th days from the death, or deposition, and on anniversaries. The term *depositio* strictly means, of course, the burial, the committing to the earth; but "in die depositionis tertio, septimo," &c. when it is in rubrics or early documents almost always means from the day of the death; and in some countries, especially those to which this term is to be traced, the day of

death and burial was one and the same.

In the MSS. often, and much more commonly in the printed editions of the horæ and prymers of the English church, immediately preceding this office of the dead is an illumination or woodcut; representing different subjects in which skeletons are introduced. A remarkable example occurs in the Cotton MS. (Domitian. A. xvij.) in which the illumination represents (folio 148. *b.*) two rows of monks sitting in choir: above are five heads of skeletons, vested and crowned; one with the tiara, a second with a cardinal's hat, the rest with coronets. These are all mocking at what is going on, the monks being unconscious of their presence. In the distance to the right is a priest kneeling before an altar. This volume is said to have belonged to king Richard the second, and is full of most interesting illuminations; unhappily it is imperfect.

More frequently we find a picture of one or more persons meeting skeletons or bodies corrupted: sometimes a figure, half-man, half-skeleton, holding a scythe and inscribed "Deathe:" sometimes Job talking with his three friends: sometimes the raising of Lazarus. As the reader has already seen in the case of the seven penitential psalms, so also in this office each portion is preceded in many editions with woodcuts and descriptive verses underneath. I shall give these verses from the same edition of the prymer which supplied them in the former instance: viz. by *Kerver.* 1532. The first two stanzas are written on opposite sides of the pages; the one under three skeletons, the other under three men, dressed and riding through a wood, who are supposed to be meeting the skeletons. The former say:—

"¶ We haue som tym abyden our chaunce
In thys worlde, passyng tyme lustely:
But now ye must come trace on our daunce,
All Adam's kynde be ordeyned to dye."

To which the others reply:—

"¶ We ben in glory and worldly fauour,
Full of all welth, rychesse, and substaunce:
But now we perceyue that come is the houre
That we must leue all lust and pleasaunce."

These representations are generally full of spirit: the dead men horribly pictured, and the living with their horses startled at the apparition of them. Worms and hideous things are creeping about the partly decayed bodies of the dead, who seem rejoicing and grinning with delight in the

manner of Holbein's celebrated "Dance."

In the edition of the prymer (before cited) by Nicholas le Roux, 1538, is the following short preface to this office: the student will do well to compare it with that placed before the dirge by bishop Hilsey, in the Oxford reprint of that prymer. Bishop Hilsey, he will remark, makes apparently a great point of the psalms in this office being equally if not altogether applicable to the living: and speaks of it as a new discovery of his own, and an excuse for the insertion of "The dirge." Not only, however, does this edition which I am about to quote from contain much to the like purpose, but I shall cite arguments to the very same effect, placed before each of the psalms in their proper order, as I proceed: which to the full as strongly as any one can desire refers them all to the present benefit and consolation also of those by whom they are recited. To return however to the preface. "¶ *The begynnynge of the dirige, and prayenge for the deade.*

The makynge of this seruice (that we call dirige) some do ascribe to saynt Isidore, and some to saynt Gregorie: but whether of them it was forceth not moche, for certayn it is, that all that is contained therein, (the collectes excepte) may as well be applyed for the lyuyng, as for the deade. Yet (as Platina wryteth) Pelagius byshop of Rome dyd fyrste ordeyne the commemoration, or prayenge for the deade. Whiche thinge (aftir the mynde of Isidore) was received as a tradition of the apostles. Howe be it S. Ambrose affirmeth, that it was deriued of an olde custome had amonge the Hebrewes, whiche vsed longe lamentation for the deade after theyr departyng, as they dyd for Jacob the space of xl. dayes, and for Moyses xxx. But we that are vnder the newe lawe, are taught of god by the mouthe of saynte Paule his apostle, not to mourne or be sorye for them that be departed in the faythe of Christe, but to reioyse, as in them that reste in the sleepe of peace, (for so is it dayly remembered in the masse) untill they shall be called vnto the laste iudgement. Neuer the leste I thynke it very charitable, and to procede of a good and godly mynde, in that we vse any worldly obsequies aboute the deade, or do pray for them, for saynt Augustyne in his enchiridion saithe: It is not to be denyed, but that the soules departed are greatly releued by prayer. Whiche vsage is very commendable, for as moche as it hath continued in the christen churche, euen from the very infancie therof."

Ps. Dilexi.[30]

I LOUEDE the lord: for the lord shal heere the vois of my preier.

For he bowid down his heere to me: and I shal inwardli clepe him in my daies.[31]

The sorwis of deeth cumpassiden me: and the perels of helle founden me.

I fond tribulacioun and sorwe: and I clepide inwardli the name of the lord.

Thou, lord, delyuere my soule, the lord is merciful and iust: and oure god dooth merci.

And the lord kepith litil children:[32] I was meekid[33] and he delyuerid me.

My soule turne thou in to thi reste: for the lord hath do wel to thee.

For he hath delyuerid my soule fro deeth: my iȝen fro wepingis, and my feet fro fallyng doun.[34]

I shal plese the lord: in the cuntre of hem that lyuen.

Ant. I shal plese the lord in the cuntre of hem that lyuen.[35]

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[29] This antiphon omitted in the Cambridge MS. and in the king's prymer.

[30] "¶ Ps. cxiiij. Oratio Christi ad Patrem, a quo semper est auditus et ob divinæ benignitatis recordationem sincerior consolatio." *Horæ*, 4to. 1531. "¶ The laude and praise of God through whose benefite we be preserued in aduersitie." The king's prymer.

[31] Inwardli? *Et in diebus meis invocabo.* So again in the 4th verse: as if to give force to the *in* of invocabo.

[32] *Parvulos.* The lytle ones, 1538, &c. The simple, 1545.

[33] *Humiliatus sum.*

[34] *A lapsu.* "From slydyng:" in the later versions.

[35] This antiphon and, in short, the succeeding ones, to the middle of the matins, are omitted in the king's prymer: in the horæ and later prymers (1538, &c., and queen Mary's) another short antiphon, "Heu me," "Wo is me," is added. On the other hand, in the breviary we find this rubric: "*Ultimus versus hujus psalmi, scilicet* Pla-

Ps. Ad dominum cum tribularer.[35]

WHANNE I was set in tribulacioun.

Ant. Who is to me, for my wonyng is drawun along.[36]

Psalm. Leuaui oculos meos.[37]

I REISID myn iȝen in to hillis.

Ant. The lord kepith thee fro al yuel, the lord keepe thi soule.[38]

Psalm. De profundis clamaui.[39]

LORD, I criede to thee fro depthis : lord.

Ant. If thou kepist wickidnessis, lord who shal susteyne.[40]

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cebo, *non psallatur sed statim loco antiphonæ cantetur secundum usum Sarum. An.* Heu me quia incolatus meus prolongatus est."

[35] "Ps. cxix. In quo monet justus et petit liberari de malis hujus sæculi." 1531. The king's prymer has instead of this, for no other reason that I can see but the mere love of alteration, the *xl. Psalme:* headed; "¶ Happy is he that hath compassion vpon the poore, whom God deliuereth from his enemies, and preserueth euerlastyngly." *Beatus qui intelligit,* &c.

This psalm having been said at *tierce,* find it there: p. 49.

[36] In the breviary *ad usum Sarum* the antiphon appointed here is, "Dominus custodit te ab omni malo: custodiat animam tuam Dominus." The later horæ and prymers add this antiphon to that given in the text.

[37] "Ps. cxx. In quo monet fideles recurrere ad sanctos." 1531. The prymer of 1545 appoints "psalme cxlv. ¶ An exhortation to praise god, and to put our trust in him, and not in men. *Lauda anima mea,* &c."

For the ps. *Levavi* see p. 49.

After this psalm, the later horæ usually add the antiphon, *Requiem æternam.*

[38] In the breviary, "Si iniquitates observaveris, Domine: Domine, quis sustinebit." The first words only of which are *added* to the "Dominus custodit" of the text, in the later books.

[39] Vide p. 78. "Ps. cxxix. In quo monet ad pœnitentiam." 1531. The next psalms and antiphons, as far as the verses and responses before the collect *Deus cui proprium,* are omitted in the prymer of 1545.

[40] In the breviary, "Opera

Ps. Confitebor tibi domine.[41]

LORD, I shal knowleche to thee in al myn herte: for thou herdist the wordis of my mouth.

My god, I shal synge to thee in the siȝt of aungels: I shal worshipe to thin hooli temple, and I shal knowleche to thin hooli name.

In thi merci and thi treuthe: for thou hast magnyfiede thin hooli name aboue al thing.

In what euer day I shal inwardli clepe thee, heere thou me: thou shalt multiplie vertu in my soule.

Lord, alle the kingis of erthe knowleche to thee: for thei herden alle the wordis of thi mouth.

That thei synge in the weies of the lord: for the glorie of the lord is greet.

For the lord is hiȝ, and biholdith meek thingis:[42] and knowith afer hiȝ thingis.

If I shal go in to the myddis of tribulacioun, thou shalt quykene me: and thou strecchedist forth thin hond on the ire[43] of myn enemyes, and thi riȝt hond make me saaf.

The lord shal yelde[44] for me, lord thi merci is with outen ende: dispise thou not the werkis of thin hondis.

Ant. Lord dispise thou not the werkis of thin hondis.[45]

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manuum tuarum Domine ne despicias." The first word *Opera* added to the later editions of the horæ and prymer, as a second antiphon.

[41] "Ps. cxxxvj. ℭ De misericordia et veritate Dei ubique percepta, et invocatione divini nominis in tribulatione." 1531.

[42] *Et humilia respicit.* And beholdeth lowe thinges. 1538. &c.

[43] *Super iram.* "Upon the cruelty:" in the later books.

[44] *Dominus retribuet pro me.* The lorde shall requyte for me. 1538, &c.

[45] Omitted in the breviary.

Vers. Fro the ȝate of helle.
Resp. Lord, delyuer the soulis of hem.[46]
Anv. I herd a vois.

Ps. Magnificat anima mea.

MI soule magnifieth the lord.[47]

Ant. I herd a vois fro heuene seiyng: blessid ben the deed that dien in the lord.[48]

Lord, haue merci on us.
Crist, haue merci on us.
Lord, haue merci on us.
Oure fadir.
Heil marie.[49]

Ps. Lauda anima mea.[50]

MI soule, herie thou the lord, I shal herie the lord in mi liif: I shal synge to mi god as long as I shal be.

Nyll ye triste [51] in princis, nethir in the sonys of men: in the whiche is not heelthe.

The spirit of him shal go out, and he shal turne

The reader will observe that the variations, between the text which is followed by the usual editions of the Sarum horæ and prymers and the breviary, consist in the arrangement merely of these antiphons.

[46] This and the preceding are occasionally transposed.

[47] Vide p. 64.

[48] In the breviary placed at length before the *Magnificat*, and omitted here. Several of the later editions of the horæ repeat also before this antiphon, *Requiem æternam.*

[49] Rubric in the breviary; which is followed in the Cambridge MS.: "¶ *Deinde sine pronunciatione* Et ne nos, *dicatur psalmus*, Lauda anima mea."

[50] "Ps. cxlv. ¶ De laude et regno Dei æterno, meditationeque mortis: et quamdiu vivimus divinæ laudes sunt nobis decantandæ." 1531.

[51] *Nolite confidere.*

aȝen to his erthe: in that dai alle the thouȝtis of hem shulen perishe.

He is blessid of whom the god of iacob is his help: his hope is in the lord god of him, that made heuene and erthe, the see and alle thingis that ben in tho.

Whiche kepith treuthe into the world: makith doom to hem that suffren wrong,[52] ȝyueth mete to hem that ben hungri.

The lord unbyndith fetrid men: the lord lyȝtneth blynde men.

The lord reisith men hurtlid doun: the lord loueth iust men.

The lord kepith comelyngis, he shal take up a modirles child and a widowe: and he shal distrie the weies of synneris.

The lord shal regne in to worldis: syon, thi god shal regne in generacioun and in to generacioun.

Vers. Euerlastinge rest, lord, ȝyue to hem.

Resp. And lyȝt perpetuel shyne to hem: Fro the ȝate of helle: Delyuere, lord, the soulis of hem: I bileue to see the goodis of the lord: In the lond of lyuyng men.[53]

Reste thei in pees.

So be it.

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[52] *Facit judicium injuriam patientibus.*

[53] These sentences are generally divided into verses and responses: and are not followed (as in the text) by *Reste thei in pees. So be it:* but by *Domine exaudi* and *Et clamor meus;* thus rendered in the Cambridge MS.: "Lord, here thou myn preier. And my cry come to thee:" but the later translations have it, "Lorde god heare my prayoure. And gyue hearynye to my clamour." 1508, 1538, &c.

Oratio. Inclina domine.[54]

LORD, bowe thin eere to oure preieris, with the whiche we meeke bisechen thi merci.[55] That thou sette alle the saulis of thi seruauntis, men and wymmen, whiche thou hast commaundid to passe out of this world, in the kingdom of pees and of liȝt: and comaunde that thei be felowis of thin halewyn. Bi crist oure lord. So be it.

Oracio. Deus qui patrem et matrem.[56]

GOD, that comaundedist to worshipe[57] fadir and modir: haue merci of the soulis of my fadir and of my modir: and forȝeue hem all her

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[54] There is some variety in the editions of the horæ and prymers, both as to the number and arrangement of these collects. For example: the horæ of 1508, 1520 (both printed by *Simon Vostre*), and 1531 (*Antv.*), and (to name no more) the enchiridions, have two prayers beginning "Deus cui proprium," the second of which the reader will see in the note below. The prymers commonly only contain one, that which presently follows in the text. The breviary contains both and arranges the rest as they are to be said on special occasions, according to the rubrics which I have transferred to their proper places below. The first two collects of the MS. in the text do not occur here in any printed service book of the English church which I have examined.

[55] "Lord bowe þin ere to our preieres wiþ whiche we bisecheþ lowliche þi mercy, þat þou sette þe soule of þi seruaunt and of alle cristen þat þou [hast] commaunded passe out of þis world in þe king[dom of] pees and of liȝte, and commaunde þat þei be felawes of thin halwen, bi oure lorde ihesu crist þi sone þat lyueþ and regneþ wiþ þe god in þe onhede of þe ho[li gost?]. Bi alle worldes of worldes. Amen." Add. MS. 27592.

[56] *For fadir and modir. Cambr.* MS.

[57] Compare the passage in the office of matrimony in the Common prayer book, so often and ignorantly objected against: "with my body I thee worship."

synnes and make us to lyue with hem in blisse withouten ende. So be it.

Oratio. Deus cui proprium.[58]

GOD, to whom it longith aloone to haue merci and to spare euermore:[59] we maad lou3 bisechen thee for the saulis of thi seruauntis men and wymmen, whiche thou hast comaundid this day to passe out of this world: thou take hem not[60] in to the hondis of the enmye nethir forgite hem in the ende: but comaunde hem to be take up of hooli aungels and be led in to the kingdom of liif: and for that[61] thei hopiden and bileeuen in thee, let hem disserue euer to be glad in the cumpanye of thi seyntis. So be it.[62]

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[58] *Pro corpore præsenti cujuscunque fuerit dicitur ista oratio.* Rubr. brev. Sar. In the *Cambr.* MS. "*For a cor present.*" Being more precise than the text and to be used on special occasions only, the breviaries read (not as the horæ sometimes, and our present MS. "famulorum famularumque," but) "famuli tui *vel* famulæ tuæ."

[59] "God to whom it longeþ allone to haue mercy and to spare euere more, lowliche we biseche þe þat þe soule of þi seruaunt N. whiche hast commaunded to day passe out of this world. take it no3t in to þe hondes of our enemy. ne for3ete it nou3t in to þe ende. bote comaunde it be taken vp of holy angeles and be ladde in to kingdom of lyf. so þat for he hopede and leuid in þe. lat hym desserue to be glad euere in þe compani of þin halwen. Amen." Add. MS. 27592.

[60] *Ut non tradas.*

[61] *Et quia.*

[62] The other collect is as follows, appointed in the breviary *In die tricennali:* "Deus cui proprium est misereri semper et parcere, propitiare animabus famulorum famularumque tuarum (famuli tui *vel* famulæ tuæ, *Brev.*) et omnia eorum peccata dimitte: ut mortis vinculis absoluti transire mereantur ad vitam. Per Dominum." (1508.) This is adopted into the king's prymer with one or two variations, such as "... vinculis soluti, ad vitam ascendant."

Deus indulgenciarum.[63]

LORD god of forȝyuenesse, ȝyue to the saulis of thi seruauntis whos yeris mynde we maken to day a ceete of kelyng,[64] blisse of reste, clernesse of liȝt. So be it.

Nor do all the horæ agree in their reading.

I shall give the English from one of the prymers of queen Mary, not from an earlier one. Because in all the editions which I have seen of the Sarum prymer *in English and Latin*, during king Henry's reign, the clause *and forgive them all their sins* is, by an evident mistake, omitted. The prymer of 1545 corrected it, and was followed in later years by the revisers of queen Mary's book:—

"¶ God, to whome it is appropried to be mercifull euer and to spare, be merciful to the soules of thy seruaunts of ech kynd, and forgyue them al theyr sinnes, that they beyng loosed from the bonds of death, may deserue to ascend vnto life. By Christe oure lorde." (1555.)

[63] *In anniversariis de quocunque fuerit dicitur ista oratio.* Rubr. brev. Sar. In the Cambridge MS. "*For a soul in mynde dai.*"

The English of this collect as it was in the prymers of 1538, &c. was transferred to the king's prymer: but considerable alterations were made (for some reason or other we must conclude) in the Latin, which is very ancient. It is worth while to give both:—

"Deus indulgentiarum Domine, da animæ famuli tui *vel* famulæ tuæ, *N*, cujus anniversarium depositionis diem commemoramus, refrigerii sedem, quietis beatitudinem, et luminis claritatem. Per Christum." Brev. Sar. and the horæ of 1508, &c., 1555, &c.

In the prymer of 1545, and the orarium, 1546: "Deus, omnis remissionis Dominus, concede animæ famuli tui, *N*, cujus annuam memoriam hodie recolimus, locum refrigerii, hoc est, beatam quietem et luminis tui claritatem. Per Christum dominum nostrum." Independent of the absurdity of having an English collect different from the Latin, I cannot think this was any improvement upon the one which had always been used before: the *hoc est*, the explaining to the Almighty in this familiar way what we mean to ask for in our prayers is no sign of a faithful and trusting heart. It shews rather polemical anxiety.

[64] *Kél-an.* A. S. to cool.

"The cote he found, and eke he feleth

Oratio. Deus venie.[65]

GOD, the alarger of forȝyuenesse and autour of mannys heelthe,[66] we bisechen thi mekenesse blessid marie euer virgyn goynge betwixe, and seint myȝhel archaungel with alle seintis, that thou graunte the britheren and sistris of oure congregacioun,[67] for to come to the felouship of euerlastynge blessidnesse. So be it.

Oratio. Fidelium deus.[68]

GOD, that art maker and aȝenbier of alle mankynde, ȝyue thou and graunte remissioun of alle

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The mace, and than his herte keleth."

Gower, Conf. amant. b. v.

"A seete of refreschinge." *Cambr.* MS., which omits the succeeding collects.

[65] *Pro fratribus et sororibus dicitur ista oratio.* Rubr. brev. Sar. Before this in the breviary, and almost always in the later prymers and horæ, another collect is inserted: *Pro episcopis defunctis.* Rubr. brev. *Deus qui inter apostolicos.* I quote the English from the edition, 1538:—

"O God, whiche haste causyd thy seruauntes in pontificall dignyte, to be accountyd amonge the prestes apostolycke, graunte we byseche the, that they may enioye in heuen the contynuall company of them, whose persons they do nowe present in earth. By Christ."

The latter clause is not very intelligible: the Latin is: *quorum vicem ad horam gerebant in terris.* Much better rendered in another edition of 1538, *Nicholas le Roux*, and in the prymers of queen Mary: "whose office they did beare sometime here in earth."

The king's prymer omits this collect altogether, and has another, with which and its antiphon it concludes this portion, the vespers of the office of the dead. I must refer the reader for it to the Oxford reprint.

[66] The translator very properly read not *amator*, as in many copies, but "*auctor* humanæ salutis."

[67] Commonly in the plural: *nostrarum congregationum.*

[68] "*Oratio deus omnium.* Lord god þat art makere and aȝenbier of alle mankende. ȝeue and graunt remis[sioun] of alle synnes to alle trewe cristen soules of

synnes to alle cristen of hem that ben deed: so that the forȝyuenesse that thei han desirid thurȝ piteuous preieris [69] be graunted to hem: by crist oure lord. So be it.

Reste thei in pees. So be it.[70]

Now bigynneth Dirige.[71]

Ant. Lord god dresse.[72]

Ps. Verba mea auribus.[73]

LORD, perceyue thou my wordis with eeris: undirstonde thou my crie.

My king and my god: ȝyue thou tent [74] to the vois of my preiere.

For, lord, I shal preie to thee: heere thou eerli my vois.

Eerli I shal stonde nyȝ thee and shal se: for thou art god not willing wickidnesse.[75]

---

hem [that] be dede. þat so þat þei mowe haue þe forȝifenes þat thei euere desirede. bi crist oure lord. Amen." Add. MS. 27592.

[69] *Piis supplicationibus.* Through deuoute prayers. 1538, and other editions.

[70] Instead of this the later prymers have: "God haue mercy on al chrysten soules."

[71] ℂ *Ad matutinas pro defunctis.* ℂ Matyns of the dyryge. 1538, &c. ℂ Matyns for the deade. 1555.

[72] *Dirige domine.* From whence the name of the whole office. This antiphon is omitted in the *Cambr.* MS.

[73] "ℂ Ps. v. Oratio ad Deum pro paratis hostium insidiis declinandis, et qui a Deo odio habentur explicatio." *Horæ,* 1531. "ℂ The godly person desireth to be defended of God, that the intentes of his aduersaries may be stopped, and that the goodnes of God may be shewed among the godly." 1545.

[74] *Intende voci.*

[75] *Non volens iniquitatem.* Nat favourynge iniquyte. 1538. &c. That hath no pleasure in iniquitie. 1545.

Nethir an yuel willid man shal dwelle bisidis thee: nethir uniust men shulen dwelle bifore thin yȝen.

Thou hatist alle that worchen wickidnesse: thou shalt leese alle that speken lesyng.[76]

The lord shal holde abhominable a manquellere and a gileful man:[77] but I shal be in the multitude of thi merci.

I shal entre in to the hous: I shal worshipe thee in thin hooli temple in thi drede.

Lord, lede thou me forth in thi riȝtfulnesse for myn enemyes: dresse thou my wei in thi siȝt.

For whi, treuthe is not in her mouth: her herte is veyn.

Her throte is an opyn sepulcre: thei diden gilefulli with her tungis, god deeme thou hem.[78]

Falle thei doun fro the thouȝtis up the multitude of her wickidnessis caste thou hem doun:[79] for, lord, thei han terrid[80] thee to wrathe.

That alle that hopen in thee be glad: thei shulen make fulli ioie withouten ende, and shalt dwelle in hem.

And alle that louen thi name shulen haue glorie in thee: for thou shalt blesse a iust man.

Lord, thou hast crowned us: as with a sheeld of thi good wille.

Ant. Lord my god, dresse my weie in thy siȝt.[81]

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[76] *Qui loquuntur mendacium.* *Leas.* A. S. lying, false.
"——the sothe is to se,
Without any *lesyng.*" *R. Brunne*, p. 237. (*Richardson.*)

[77] *Virum sanguinum et dolosum.* In the later books, "a man that is bloudy and deceitful."

[78] *Judica illos, Deus.*

[79] *Decidant a cogitationibus suis: secundum multitudinem impietatum eorum expelle eos.* There seems some error in the MS.

[80] *Irritaverunt.*

[81] It will be sufficient here to mention once for all, that the

Ps. Domine ne in furore.

LORD, repreue me not in thi stronge.[82]

Ant. Lord be thou conuertid and delyuere my soule: for noon is in deeth that is myndeful of thee.[83]

Ps. Domine deus meus in te speraui.[84]

MI lord god, I haue hopide in thee: make thou me saaf fro alle that pursuen me, and delyuere thou me.

Lest ony tyme he as a lioun rauyshe my soule: the while noon is that aȝenbieth nethir that makith saaf.

My lord god, if I dide this thing: if wickidnesse is in myn hondis.

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king's prymer omits these antiphons, and that the same difference of arrangement exists in the breviary and later prymers, which was remarked in the *Placebo*.

[82] Vide p. 81. ps. vj: "℄ In quo monet peccatorem ad penitentiam timore futuri judicii." 1531. The king's prymer appoints ps. xxxvij, headed, "℄ The goodnes of god toward his people, wherby they be encouraged to trust in God, notwithstandyng their aduersaries, to reioyse in his ayde and to magnifie him. *Dominus illuminatio mea.*"

[83] *Quoniam non est in morte qui memor sit tui.* This reading and translation throw a little light upon a very difficult passage, which has proved a stumbling-block to many, and which most of the commentators pass by without a satisfactory explanation. The later prymers translate, "he is nat in death that hath mynde of thee." The Cambridge MS., "For ther is no man in deeth that medefulli hath mynde of thee." I need scarcely add that this antiphon is taken from the 4th and 5th verses of the preceding psalm.

[84] Ps. vij: "℄ Oratio insontis et innocentis, in quem maligni machinantur et consiliunt, ut ab eorum manibus divino auxilio eripiatur." 1531. The king's prymer has instead, ps. xlj: "℄ The godly man is vexed with theim that blaspheme Goddes religion, and beyng pensife, with

If I yeldide to men yelding to me yuels:[85] falle I bi disseruyng voide fro myn enemyes.

Myn enemye pursue my soule, and take and defoule my liif in erthe: and brynge my glorie in to dust.

Lord, rise thou up in thin ire: and be thou reisid in the coostis of myn enemyes.

And my lord god, rise thou up in the comaundement whiche thou comaundedist: and the synagoge[86] of peplis shal cumpasse thee.

And for this go thou aȝen an hiȝ: the lord deemeth peplis.

Lord, deeme thou me bi my riȝtwisnesse: and bi myn innocence on me.[87]

The wickidnesse of synneris be endid: and thou god sekynge the hertis and reynes shalt dresse a iust man.

My iust help is of the lord: that makith saaf riȝtful men in herte.

The lord is a iust iuge, strong and pacient: where he is wrooth bi alle daies.[88]

If ye ben not conuertid he shal florishe his swerde: he hath bent his bowe and maad it redi.

And therinne he hath maad redi the vessels of deeth: he hath fulli maad hise arowis with brynnynge thingis.

Lo, he conceyued sorwe: he peynfulli brouȝte forth unriȝtfulnesse, and childide wickidnesse.

---

feruent complaynt openeth his heart to God. *Quemadmodum desiderat cervus.*"

[85] *Si reddidi retribuentibus mihi mala.* If I haue requyted euyll to them that so dyd vnto me. (1538, &c.)

[86] *Synagoga populorum.* Congregacyon, 1538.

[87] *Secundum innocentiam meam super me.*

[88] *Per singulos dies.*

He opened a lake and diggide it out: and he feld into the dich which he made.

His sorwe shal be turned into his heed: and his wickidnesse shal come doun in to his necke.

I shal knowleche to the lord by his riȝtfulnesse: and I shal synge to the name of the hiȝest lord.

Ant. Lest ony tyme he as a lioun rauyshe my soule: the while noon is that aȝenbieth, nethir that maketh saaf.[89]

Vers. Fro the ȝate of helle.

Resp. Lord, delyuere the soulis of hem.

Oure fadir.

Heil marie.[90]

The first lessoun.[91] *Parce michi domine.*[92]

LORD, spare thou me for my daies ben nouȝt: what is a man that thou magnyfiest him,

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[89] The antiphon in the king's prymer is "*Credo videre:* ¶ I trust to se the goodnes of the lorde, in the land of the liuyng." Followed by the *Requiem, Pater noster, et ne nos, sed libera.*

[90] "*Non dicatur* Jube." *Rubr. brev. Sar.* "Jube." The usual formula *Jube domne benedicere,* &c. always said by the reader, with special exceptions, in feasts or offices of nine lections. See more remarks upon this in my work on the *Ancient liturgies* (3rd edit.), *note* upon the benediction before the reading of the gospel in the ordinary of the mass.

The Cambridge MS. omits the "Heil Marie."

[91] "Here begynneth the ix lessons of ye diryge whych Job made in hys trybulacyon lying on the donghyll and ben declared more opynly to lewde mennes understondyng by a solempne, worthy and dyscrete clerke, Richard Hampole, and ys clepyd pety Job, and ys ful profytable to stere synneris to compunction." The translation is in metre; stanzas of ten or eleven lines to each verse (or paragraph) of the lection. *Harleian* MS. 1706, fol. xj to xvj.

[92] The authors of the king's prymer for some unknown reason changed the order of the lections here: and appoint that which in our text, and in all the old services, was read as the third. *Manus tuæ fecerunt.*

ethir what settist thou thin herte toward him. Thou visitist him eerli: and sudenli thou preuyst him. How longe sparist thou not to me: nethir suffrist me that I swolewe my spotele. I haue synned. A, thou kepere of men, what shal I do to thee: whi hast thou sett me contrarie to thee, and I am made greuous to my silf. Why doist thou not awei my synne: and whi takist thou not awei my wickidnesse. Lo, now I shal slepe in dust: and if thou sekist me eerli, I shal not abide.

Resp. I bileeue that myn aȝenbiere lyueth and I am to rise of the erthe in the last day, and in my fleish I shal se god my sauyour.

Vers. Whom I my silf shal se and noon other: and myn yȝen ben to se.

Resp. And in my fleishe I shal se god my sauyour.[93]

"Thyne handes hath made me, and fashioned me, &c."

Many editions of the horæ here begin again to insert frequent woodcuts: before this lection is generally represented the angel driving Adam and Eve out of the garden of Eden: and, underneath, these verses:—

"¶ Whan Adam had knowledged he dyd misse,
And remembred his grete ygnoraunce:
O lorde god he sayd, forgyue me this,
And after warde he dyde grete penaunce."

Enchiridion, 1528, &c.

The prymers of 1538, 1543, &c., which are followed by queen Mary's, render these lections and the responses in metre or rhyme. I will quote the first response, *Credo quod redemptor meus;* by which the reader may judge of the rest:—

"¶ I verely thynke and byleue surely,
That my redemer is eterne on lyue:
And that at the laste daye fynally,
Out of the earthe, who so it denye,
I shall aryse, and shall agayne reuyue:
And in my flesshe I shall playnely see,
My god my sauyour whiche hathe redemyd me."

[93] Instead of this response, the king's prymer adds to the

The seconde lessoun. Tedet animam.[94]

IT anoieth my soule of my liif: I shal lete my speche aȝenus me. I shal speke in the bitternesse of my soule: I shal seie to god, nyle thou condempne me. Shewe thou to me, whi thou deniyst me so. Wher it semeth good to thee, if thou falsli calengist[95] and oppressist me, the werk of thin hondis, and helpist the councel of wickide men. Wher fleishli yȝen ben to thee, ethir as a man seeth also thou shalt se. Where thi daies ben as the daies of man: and thi yeeris ben as mannes tymes: that thou enquere my wickidnesse and enserche my synne:[96] and wite that I haue doun no wickid thing: sithen no man is, that may delyuere fro thin hond.

Resp. Thou that reisedist stynkyng lazare[97] fro the graue, lord, ȝyue to hem reste in thi place of forȝyuenesse.

Vers. He that is to come for to deeme the quyke and the deed and the world bi fier.

---

antiphon, *Reposita est hæc spes mea in sinu meo.* "This hope is layd vp in my bosome."

[94] The 2nd lection appointed in 1545 is not this, but taken from the 5th ch. of St. John's gospel, verses 24–29: "Verely, verely I say vnto you, he that heareth, &c."

The woodcut before this lection in the printed books represents Adam and Eve in a rude cottage, the one weaving a basket, the other suckling her child. In the distance is the murder of Abel. Underneath are these four verses :—

"¶ Whan Adam sawe his tyme was nere past,
Knowlegyng this worldes breuenesse :
His lyfe bewayled that he cowlde not last,
But ende unweldy, full of wretchednesse."

[95] *Numquid bonum tibi videtur, si calumnieris*, &c. In the later books : "I wene that thou doest some pleasure take, Thus with calamite, me to ouerpresse." 1538, &c. *Calengist* in the text possibly may be an error for *chalengist;* which is the reading of the Cambridge MS.

[96] *Et peccatum meum scruteris.*

[97] *Qui Lazarum——fœtidum.*

Resp. Lord, ȝyue to hem rest in the place of forȝyuenesse.[98]

The thridde lessoun. Manus tue fecerunt.[99]

THYNE handes maden me, and han fourmed me al in cumpas, and thou castist me doun sudenli. I preie haue thou mynde, that thou madist me as cley: and shalt brynge me aȝen in to dust. Wher thou hast not mylkid me as mylk: and hast cruddid togider as chees:[1] thou clothedist me with skyn and fleish, thou hast ioyned me togidir with bonys and synewis. Thou has ȝouen liif and merci to me, and thi visiting hath kept my spirit.[2]

Resp. Lord whanne thou shalt come for to deeme the erthe, wher shal I hide me fro the face of thi wrathe, for I haue synned riȝt moche in my liif.

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[98] In the place of these, in the prymer of 1545:—

"*Antiphona. Nolumus vos ignorare.*

¶ *The Antheme.* 1 *Thess.* iiij. Brethren, we wolde not that ye should be ignorant as concernyng them, the whiche are fallen a slepe, that ye sorowe not as other do, which haue no hope. For if we beleue that Jesus died and rose agaìne, even so, them whiche slepe with Jesus, God shal bring with him."

Succeeding this, the third lesson (*Manus tuæ fecerunt* having been taken for the first) is appointed from the 1 Cor. xv. verses 51–57: "Beholde I shewe you a misteri."

[99] The woodcut here in the enchiridions and many editions of the horæ is the creation of Adam: and the verses:—

"¶ Whan adam dyd knowe how
he fyrst came,
Created of god, vnto his ymage:
Gretely he praysed our lordes
myghty name.
And gloryfyed hym in euery age."

[1] *Nonne sicut lac mulsisti me, et sicut caseum me coagulasti!* "Lyke soft milke hast thou nat me dressyd, And lyke vnto chese hast thou nat me pressyd?" 1538, &c. "Hast thou not put me together, as it were milke? and hardned me to cruddes like chese?" 1545.

[2] From hence to the response *Libera me Domine*, omitted in 1545.

Vers. I drede my trespassis and me shameth to fore thee, will thou not condempne me whanne thou shalt come for to deeme.

Resp. For I haue synned riȝt moche in my liif.

In the secounde nocturne.

Ant. In the place of pasture.

Ps. Dominus regit me.[3]

THE lord gouerneth me, and no thing shal faile to me: in the place of pasture ther he hath sett me.

He norishide me on the watir of refreishing: he conuertide my soule.

He ledde me forth on the pathis of riȝtfulnesse: for his name.

For whi, thouȝ I shal go in the myddis of shadowe of deeth, I shal not drede yuels: for thou art with me.

Thi yerde and thi staaf: tho han counfortide me.

Thou hast maad redi a borde[4] in my siȝt: aȝens hem that troublen me.

Thou hast maad fat myn heed with oyle: and my cuppe greetli fillyng is ful cleer.

And thi merci shal sue me:[5] in alle the daies of my liif.

And that I dwelle in the hous of the lord: in to the lengthe of daies.

Ant. In the place of pasture there he sett me.

---

[3] "¶ Gratiarum actio de beneficiis Dei: præsertim cum temtationes desint: et prospera nobis assunt." ps. xxij. (Horæ, 1531.)

[4] *Parasti in conspectu meo mensam.*

[5] *Subsequetur me.*

Ps. Ad te domine leuaui animam.[6]

LORD, to thee I haue reisid my soule: my god I triste in thee, be I not ashamed.

Nethir myn enemyes scorne me: for alle men that suffren thee[7] shulen not be shent.

Alle men that doen wickid thingis to veynli: be thei shent.

Lord, shewe thou thi weies to me: and teche thou me thi pathis.

Dresse thou me in thi treuthe, and teche thou me: for thou art god my sauyour, and I suffride for thee[8] al day.

Lord, haue thou mynde of thi merciful doyngis: and of thi mercies that ben of the world.

Haue thou not mynde on the trespassis of my yougthe: and on myn unkunnyngis.[9]

Thou, lord, haue mynde on me bi thi merci: for thi goodnesse.

The lord is sweete and riȝtful: for this he shal ȝyue a lawe to men trespassynge in the weie.

He shal dresse deboner men in doom:[10] he shal teche mylde men hise weies.

Alle the weies of the lord ben merci and treuthe: to men sekinge his testament and hise witnessyngis.

Lord, for thi name thou shalt do merci to my synne: for it is moche.

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[6] "¶ Oratio fidelium opem a Deo poscentium, cum ab inimicis irritantur, et ad divinam benignitatem confugientium." ps. xxiiij. (1531.)

[7] *Etenim universi qui sustinent te.* In the later books, "all that euer truste in thee."

[8] *Et te sustinui.*

[9] *Et ignorantias meas.*

[10] *Diriget mansuetos in judicio.*

Who is a man that dredith the lord: he ordeyneth to him a lawe in the weie which he chees.

His soule shal dwelle in goodis: and his seed shal enherite the lond.

The lord is a sadnesse [11] to men dredynge him: and his testament is that it be shewid to hem.

Myne y3en ben euere to the lord: for he shal breide [12] awei my feet fro the snare.

Biholde thou on me, and haue thou merci on me: for I am oon aloone and pore.

The tribulaciouns of my herte ben multipliede: delyuere thou me fro my nedis.

Se thou my mekenesse and my traueil: and for3yue thou alle my trespassis.

Biholde thou myn enemyes for thei ben multiplied: and thei haten me with wickid hatrede.

Kepe thou my soule and delyuere thou me: be I not ashamed for I hopide in thee.

Innocent men and ri3tful cleueden to me: for I suffride thee.

God, delyuere thou israel: fro alle hise tribulaciouns.

Ant. Haue thou not mynde on the trespassis of my yougthe, and of myn unkunnyngis.

Ps. Dominus illuminacio mea.[13]

THE lord is my ly3tnynge and my heelthe: whom shal I drede.

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[11] *Firmamentum est.* See above, p. 32, note 85.

[12] *Evellet de laqueo pedes meos.* He shall pulle my fote oute of the snare. 1538, &c.

[13] "¶ De securitate Christi in tribulatione et fiducia in Deo solo habenda, grassantibus in nos inimicis." ps. xxvj. (1531.)

The lord is defender of my liif: for whom shal I tremble.

The while nothful men neiȝen on me:[14] for to ete my fleishis.

Myn enemyes that troblen me: thei weren maad syke and felden.[15]

Thouȝ castels stonden togidre aȝens me:[16] myn herte shal not drede.

Thouȝ bateil risith aȝens me: in this thing I shal haue hope.

I axide of the lord o thing that shal I seeke, that I dwelle in the hous of the lord: alle the daies of my liif.

That I se the wille of the lord: and that I visite his temple.

For he hidde me in his tabernacle in the day of yuels: he defendide me in the hidde place of his tabernacle.

He enhauncide me in a stoon:[17] and now he enhauncide myn heed ouer myne enemyes.

I cumpasside and offride in his tabernacle a sacrifice of criyng: I shal synge, and I shal seie salm to the lord.

Lord, heere thou my vois bi which I cried to thee: haue thou merci on me and heere me.

Myn herte seide to thee, my face souȝte thee: lord, I shal seke eft thi face.

Turne thou not awei thi face fro me: bowe thou not awei in wrathe fro thi seruaunt.

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[14] *Dum appropiant super me nocentes.*

[15] *Et ceciderunt.* And fell downe. 1538, &c.

[16] *Si consistant adversum me castra.* In the later versions: "If they pytche pauylyons agaynste me."

[17] *In petra exaltavit me.*

Lord, be thou myn helper, forsake thou not me: and god, mi saluacioun, dispise thou not me.

For my fadir and my modir han forsake me: but the lord hath take me.

Lord, sette thou a lawe to me in thi weie: and dresse thou me in thi path for myn enemyes.

Bitake thou not me into the hondis of hem that troublen me: for wickid witnessis han rise aȝens me, and wickidnesse liȝede to it silf.[18]

I bileeue to se the goodis of the lord: in the lond of lyuynge men.

Abide thou the lord, do thou manli: and thi herte be confortide and suffre thou the lord.

Ant. I beleeue to se the goodis of the lord, in the lond of lyuyng men.

Vers. Iust men shulen be in endeles mynde.

Resp. Thei shulen not drede of yuel heering.

Oure fadir.[19]

Heil marie.

The fourthe lessoun. Quantas habeo.[20]

HOW greet wickidnessis and synnes haue I: shewe thou to me my felonyes and traspassis:[21]

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[18] *Mentita est sibi.*

[19] This and the Ave are omitted here in brev. Sar. The *Cambr.* MS. has the *Pater noster* only.

[20] The woodcut commonly prefixed in the printed books to this lection is very remarkable. It represents the members of a church or convent sitting in the choir, saying this office: in the middle a coffin or hearse, surrounded by candles: above, an evil spirit carrying away the soul of the dead person, from whose mouth issues the legend, "Condemnatus sum." Below:—

"¶ A chanon the whiche at
parys dyed,
As they his seruyce in the quere
dyd syng:
At the fourthe lesson alowde he
cryede,
Sayng I am dampned for my
lyuyng."

This story arose from the famous account of the conversion of St.

Whi hiddist thou thi face and deemyst me thin enemye: thou shewist thi myȝt aȝens a leef, which is rauyshid with the wynde: and thou pursuest drie stubul. For thou writist bitternessis aȝens me: and wolt waaste me with the synnes of my yong wexyn age.[22] Thou hast sette my foot in a stok, and thou hast kept alle my pathis. And thou hast biholde the steppis of my feet and I shal be wastide as root:[23] and as a clooth which is etun with mouȝtis.

Resp. Wo to me, lord, for I haue synned to moche in my liif. What shal I wreche do, whidur shal I flee but to thee: my god, haue merci on me. Whanne thou comest in the last day.

Vers. Mi soule is moche troublid, but thou, lord, be helper ther to.

Res. Whanne thou comyst in the laste day.

The fifthe lessoun. Homo natus de.[24]

A MAN is born of a womman and lyueth short tyme, and is fillid with manye wrecchidnessis:

Bruno, the founder of the Carthusian order: of whom it is related, that he was present when the body of a certain eminent doctor of theology, whose reputation for piety had been great, was being carried to a church in Paris. Whilst the office was singing, at the fourth lection "Responde mihi quantas habeo iniquitates" the dead man lifted up his head from the bier, and said with a dreadful voice: "By the just judgment of God I am accused." A second time: "I am judged." At a third time: "I am condemned." Formerly this lection was inserted in the Roman breviary, but it was removed by an order of pope Urban viij. I have given but a very abridged account: it may be seen at length in *Cavalieri*, Opera, tom. v. p. 52; and in *Surius*, sanct. hist. tom. v. p. 671, who adds, that from that time and for that reason the words *Responde mihi* were omitted.

[21] *Scelera mea atque delicta.*

[22] *Adolescentiæ meæ.*

[23] *Quasi putredo*, "as rotenesse." *Camb.* MS. "mouȝtis," moths: *quasi a tinea.*

[24] The woodcut here is com-

which gooth out and is defoulid as a flour, and fleeth as shadowe, and dwellith neuer parfiitli in the same staa't. And gessist thou it worthi[25] to opene thine yȝen on such a man: and to brynge him into doom with thee? Who may make clene a man, conceyued of unclene seed? wher not thou which art aloone. The daies of man ben shorte: the noumbre of hise monethis is at thee. Thou hast sett *or ordeyned*[26] hise termes, which moun not be passid. Therfore go thou awei fro him a lytil that he haue reste: til the meede come[27] and hise daies: as of an hiryd man.

Resp. Haue not mynd of my synnes, lord. Whanne thou shalt come to deeme the world bi fier.

Vers. Lord, my god, dresse my weie in thi sight. Whanne thou shalt come to deeme the world bi fier.

The sexte lessoun.[28]

WHO ȝyueth this to me, that thou defende me in helle? and that thou hide me til thi greet veniaunce passe, and thou sette to me a tyme in which thou haue mynde on me? gessist thou wher a deed man shal lyue aȝene. In alle the daies in

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monly divided into two parts. Above, a woman with a young child: below, a sick man in bed, about to die. The verses are:—

"¶ Euery man, that borne is of
woman,
Fylled is of all misery:
Sure of dethe, but not how,
where, nor whan,
It is so short: as it is seen dayly."

[25] *Et dignum ducis.*

[26] Underlined in the MS. in red.

[27] *Donec optata veniat.* In the Cambr: MS. "Til the mede desirid come, and his dai is, as the dai of an hirid man." In the later versions; "Untyll the day cum, that he hath longe desyred."

[28] Woodcut, a representation of souls in purgatory: underneath, the verses:—

"¶ For the synnes voluptuous
and the worldly pleasures,
That man commyttyth by his
wyllfulnesse:
It behoueth that he be tryed
pure,
Lyke as the fyne golde is in the
furnesse."

whiche I holde kny3thood:[29] now I abide til my chaunginge come. Thou shalt clepe me and I shal answere thee: thou shalt dresse the ri3thalf to the werk of thin hondis. Sothely thou hast noumbrid my steppis: but spare thou my synnes.

Resp. Lord, nyle thou deeme me aftir my dede, for I haue don no thing worthi in thi si3t. Therfore I preie thi mageste that thou, god, do awei my wickidnesse.

Vers. More ouer, god, waishe thou me fro my unri3twisnesse, and of my trespas clense thou me: for to thee aloone I haue synned.

Resp. Therfore I preie thi mageste, that thou, god, do awei my wickidnesse.

Ant. Plese it the lord.

Ps. Expectans expectaui.[30]

ABIDINGE I abood the lord: and he 3af tent to me.

And he herde my preieres: and he ledde out me fro the lake of wrecchidnesse, and fro the filthe of drast.[31]

And he ordeynede my feet on a stoon: and he dressid my goyngis.

And he sente in to my mouth a newe songe: a song to oure god.

Manye men shulen se and shulen drede: and shulen haue hope in the lord.

Blessid is the man of whom the name of the lord is his hope: and he biheeld not into uanitees and into false woodnessis.[32]

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[29] *Cunctis diebus quibus nunc milito.* "Alle the daies in whiche I trauele now." *Cambr.* MS.

[30] "ℭ Gratiarum actio de adventu Christi in mundum, et pro liberatione a malis post longam expectationem." ps. xxxix (1531).

[31] *Et de luto fæcis.* From the muddy clay. 1538, &c.

[32] *Et non respexit in vanitates*

My lord god, thou hast maad thi meruailis manye: and in thi thouȝtis noon is that is like to thee.

I teelde[83] and I spake: and thei ben multipliede aboue noumbre.

Thou noldist sacrifice and offringe: but thou madist parfiitli eeris to me.

Thou axedist not brent sacrifice for syne: thanne I seide, lo I come.

In the heed[84] of the book it is writun of me, that I shulde do thi wille, my god: I wolde, and thi lawe in the myddel of myn herte.

I telde thi riȝtfulnesse in a greet chirche:[85] lo, I shal not refreyne my lippis.[86]

I hidde not thi riȝtfulnesse in myn herte: I seide thi truthe and thi saluacioun.

I hidde not thi merci and thi treuthe: fro a moche conceil.[87]

But thou, lord, make not fer thi merciful doyngis fro me: thi merci and treuthe euer tooken me up.

For yuels of whiche is no noumbre cunpassiden me: my wickidnessis tooken me, and I myȝte not that I shulde se.

Tho ben multipliede aboue the heeris of myn heede: and myn herte forsook me.

Lord, plese it to thee that thou delyuere me: lord, biholde thou to helpe me.

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et insanias falsas. And hath not regarded vanytes and false madnesses. 1538, &c.

[83] *Annuntiavi.*

[84] *In capite.*

[85] *In ecclesia magna.* In the later books, "In a great congregacyon."

[86] In the margin is added, "Lord, thou wistist," which the Cambridge MS. has in the text.

[87] *A concilio multo.* From a great company. 1538.

Be thei shent and ashamed to gidre: that seken my liif, to take aweie it.

Be thei turned abac and be thei ashamed: that wolen yuels to me.

Bere thei her confusioun anoon: that seyn to me, wel wel.

Alle men that seken thee be fulli ioiful and be glad on thee: and seie thei that louen thi saluacioun, the lord be magnifiede euer.

Forsothe I am a begger and pore: the lord is bisie of me.[38]

Thou art myn helper and my defendere: my god, tarie thou not.

Ant. Plese it to the lord that thou delyuere me: lord, biholde thou to helpe me.

Ant. Lord, heele thou.

Ps. Beatus qui intelligit.[39]

BLESSID is he that hath mynde on a nedy man and pore: the lord shal delyuere him in the yuel dai.

The lord kepe him and quykene him and make him blissful in the lond: and bitake him not[40] into the wille of hise enemyes.

The lord bere helpe to him on the bed of his sorwe: thou hast ofte turned al his bedstree in his sicnesse.

I seide, lord, haue thou merci on me: heele thou my soule, for I synned aȝens thee.

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[38] *Sollicitus est mei.* In the later books: "The lorde hathe care of me."

[39] "De beatitudine imitantium Christi paupertatem, et felicitate eorum qui in pauperes misericordiam impendunt." ps. xl. (1531.)

[40] *Et non tradat eum.*

Myn enmyes seiden yuels to me: whane shal he dye and his name shal perishe.

And if he entride for to se he spek veyn thingis: his herte gedride wickidnesse to him silf.

He ȝede with oute forthe:[41] and spake to the same thing.

Alle myne enmyes bacbitiden pryuili aȝens me: aȝens me thei thouȝten yuels to me.

Thei ordeyneden an yuel word aȝens me: wher he that slepith shal not leie to that he arise.

For whi, the man of my pees in whom I hopide, he that eet my looues: made greet disseit on me.

But thou, lord, haue merci on me and reise me aȝen: and I shal yelde to hem.[42]

In this thing I knew that thou woldist me: for myn enmye shal not haue ioie on me.

Forsothe thou hast take me up for innocence: and hast confermed me in thi siȝt withouten ende.

Blessid be the lord god of israel: fro the world into the world. be it don, be it don.[43]

Ant. Lord, heele my soule, for I synnede to thee.
Ant. Mi soule.

Ps. Quemadmodum.[44]

AS an hert desirith to the wellis of watris: so thou god, my soule desirith to thee.

Mi soule thristid to god, welle of liif: whanne shal I come and appere bifore the face of god.

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[41] *Egrediebatur foras.*

[42] *Et retribuam eis.*

[43] *Fiat, fiat.* So be it, so be it. 1538. And so in the succeeding prymers, up to 1545.

[44] "¶ De desiderio piorum videndi Deum, et ardenti affectu ad cæleste regnum quando lacessunt inimici." ps. xlj. (1531.)

Mi teeris weren looues to me bi daye and nyȝt: while it is seide to me ech day, where is thi god.

I bithouȝte of these thingis, and I shedde oute in me my soule: for I shal passe in to the place of the wondirful tabirnacle, til to the hous of god.

In the vois of fulout ioyng and knowlechynge: is the sown of the etere.[45]

My soule, whi art thou sori: and whi disturblist thou me.

Hope thou in god for yit I shal knowleche to him: he is the saluacioun of my chere and my god.

My soule is disturblid at my silf: therefore, god, I shal be myndeful of thee fro the lond of iordan, and fro the litil hil of hermonyym.

Depthe clepith depthe: in the vois of thi wyndows.[46]

Alle thin hiȝe thingis and thin wawis: passiden ouer me.

The lord sent his merci in the day: and his song in the nyȝt.

At me is a preiere to the god of my liif: I shal seie to god, thou art my taker up.

Whi forgetist thou me and whi go I sorwful: while the enmye turmentith me.

While my boonys ben brokun togidere: myn enemyes that troubliden me dispiseden me.

While thei seien to me bi alle daies: where is thi god.

My soule whi art thou sori: and whi disturblist thou me.

Hope thou in god, for ȝit I shal knowleche to him: he is the saluacioun of my cheer and my god.

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[45] *Sonus epulantis.*

[46] *In voce cataractarum tuarum.* With the noyse of thy water courses. 1538, &c.

Ant. Mi soule thristide to god, the quyke welle:[47] whanne shal I come and appere bifore the face of oure god.

Vers. Endeles reste ȝyue to hem, lord.

Resp. And endeles liȝt shyne to hem.

Oure fadir.[48]

The seuenthe lessoun. Spiritus meus.[49]

MY spirit shal be maad feble:[50] my daies shulen be maad shorte, and oonli the sepulcre is left to me. I haue not synned: and myn iȝe dwellith in bitternessis. Lord, delyuere thou me and sette thou me besidis thee: and whos hond that thou wolt fiȝte aȝens me. Mi daies ben passed, my thouȝtis ben wastid: turmentynge myn herte. Tho han turned the nyȝt into day: and eft aftir derknessis I hope liȝt. If I susteyne, helle is myn hous:[51] and I haue araied my beed in derknessis. I seide to rott,

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[47] *Fontem vivum.* Above translated, *welle of liif.*

[48] Not appointed in brev. Sar.

[49] We return, with the succession of the lections, to the woodcuts. Here is generally represented the priest with his assistants, administering the viaticum to a dying man. Below, are the following verses:—

"¶ What man in this worlde
that hath lyuyd his ful age,
With trouble, thought, labour, and
mysery:
Dooth not hope at the ende of his
pylgrymage,
For to atteyne eternall glory."

[50] "My gost schal be made þinne. my daies schal be schorted and onliche a beriel ouere bileueth to me. I haue noȝt synned and myn eiȝe dwelleþ in briȝtnesse. deliuere me lord and sette me bifore the. and whos honde þat þou wolt fiȝt aȝens me my daies ben passed: my þouȝtes bene wasted turmentinge myn herte. þei tornede nyȝte in to daie and þan aftir derknesse I hope liȝte. ȝif I sustein helle is myn hous. In derknesse I haue beddede my bed. I seide to rotenesse, þou art my fader and my moder, and to wormes I seide, þou art my suster, wher is þan myn abidinge and my paciens. þou art lord my god." Add. MS. 27592.

[51] *Si sustinuero, infernus domus mea est.*

thou art my fadir: and to wormes, ye ben my modir and my sister. Therfore wher is now myn abidyng and my pacience: thou art lord my god.

Resp. The drede of deeth troubleth me synnyng evere day, and not repentynge, for in helle is no redempcioun. Haue merci on me, god, and saue me.

Vers. God, in thi name make me saaf, and in thi vertu delyuere me.

Resp. For in helle is no redempcioun: haue merci on me and saue me.

The eiȝthe lessoun. Pelli mee.[52]

WHANNE fleishis weren waastid,[53] my boon cleuide to my skyn, and oonli lippis ben left aboute my teeth. Haue ye merci on me: haue ye mercy on me, nameli ye my frendis: for the hond of the lord hath touchide me. Whi pursuen ye me as god pursueth: and ben fillid with my fleishis. Who ȝyueth to me that my wordis be writun: who

[52] The woodcut in the printed books is, Job sitting, with his wife and friends standing before him: below:—

"¶ Job in suffryng grete persecucyon,
Of his pacyence neuer myssed:
But sayde, our lorde knoweth my retrybucyon,
In wele and in wo the name of god be blyssed."

[53] "[My] mouþe cleued to my skynne. þe flesche was wasted and alle only the lippes ben lefte aboute my teethe. haue reuth on me. haue reuthe of me namliche ȝe myn frendes: for the honde of oure lord haþ touched me: whi pursue ȝe me as god. and ȝe be fulfild wiþ my flesches: who schal ȝife to me þat my wordes be writen: ho schal ȝife to me þat þei be graue in a book with a pointel of iren and in a plate of lede oþir þat þei be graue in a flinte wiþ a chisel: I wote forsoþe that my aȝenbier liueþ. and in þe last daie I am arisinge fro þe erþe and efte I schal be lapped in my skynne. and in my flesche I schal see god my saueoure: whom I my selfe schal see. and myn eiȝen ben to bihold on him and non oþer. þis is myn hope putte in my bosome." Add. MS. 27592.

ȝyueth to me that thei be grauun in a booc with an yrun poyntel,[54] ether with a plaate of leed, ethir with a chisel be grauun in a flynt. For I woot that myn aȝenbiere lyueth, and in the laste day I shal rise fro the erthe, and efte[55] I shal be cumpassyde with my skyn, and in my fleish I shal se god my sauyour. Whom I my silf shal se: and myn iȝen shulen biholde, and not an othir man. This my hope is kept in my bosum.

Resp. Lord, ȝyue hem reste withouten ende. And perpetuel liȝt shyne to hem.

Vers. Thou that reisedist laȝar stynkyng of the monument, lord, ȝyue to hem reste.

Vers. And perpetuel liȝt shyne to hem.

The nynthe lessoun. Quare de uulua.[56]

WHI hast thou ledde me oute of the wombe and I wold that I were wastid lest an yȝe shulde se me, that I hadde be as if I were not, and were borun ouer fro the wombe to the sepulcre. Wher the fewenesse of my daies, shal not be endid in short: ther fore suffre thou me that I biweile a litil my sorwe, bifore that I go and turne not aȝen to the derk lond, and hilid with the derknesse of

[54] "And he axinge a *poyntel* wroot seyinge, Jon is his name." *Wiclif*, Luke c. 1.

[55] *Eft.* A. S. afterwards, again.

[56] Here is the last of the woodcuts of the lessons of the dirge. Commonly we find a woman with a child in her arms before whom are placed the evil spirit, a man holding a globe, and a woman with flowers in her hand: these representing the three great tempters, the world, the flesh, and the devil. The verses below are:—

"¶ A chylde that is in to this worlde comyng,
Is hardely beset with many a fo:
Whiche euer is redy to his vndoyng,
The worlde, the fleshe, the deuyll and dethe also."

deeth: to lond of wrecchidnesse and of derknessis, where is shadowe of deeth, and noon ordre, but euerlastynge hidousnesse dwellith.

Resp.[57] Delyuere me, lord, of endeles deeth in that dredeful day, whanne that heuenes shulen be stirid fro erthe. Whanne thou shalt come, and iuge the world bi fier.

Vers. That day shal be a day of wrathe, and ful of myscheef and of wrecchidnesse, a greet day and wondir bittir. Whanne that heuenes shulen be moued fro the erthe.

Vers. What shal I moost wreeche[58] do thanne: what shal I seie or what shal I do, whanne I shal shewe forth no goodenesse to fore so greet a iuge.

Vers. Whanne thou shalt come to iuge the world bi fier.

Vers. Now, crist, we axen thee haue merci, we bisechen thee, thou that camest to bigge[59] that weren born: wile thou not dampne hem that thou hast bouȝt.

Vers. Whanne that heuenes shulen be moued fro the erthe.

Vers.[60] Brennynge soulis wepen with outen ende: thei wepen with outen ende, walkynge bi derknessis, and thei

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[57] Here the king's prymer begins again: but the response and succeeding verses are included in one anthem, and at the end after *magna et amara valde* "the great day and very bitter" is added; "Delyuer not to beastes o Lorde, the solles of them that confesse the, and forget not at length the solles of thy poore people." Immediately follows the xxix. psalm.

[58] *Miserrimus.* "Most wrechidful," Cambr. MS.

[59] *Redimere. Bycgan*, A. S., to bigg, or buy.

"—— Treuthe sent hym a lettre
And bad hym *bygge* baldly, what him best lykede,
And sithen sellen hit a geyn, and save the wynnynges."

Piers Ploughman, p. 148.

"And whan he was entrid into the temple he began to caste out sellers and *biggers* in the temple." *Wiclif*, Mark, c. 11. (*Richardson.*)

[60] From hence to the verse, "Delyuere me, lord, of the weies of helle, &c.," does not occur in any breviary, or prymer, or horæ which I have seen except the present MS. and the Cambridge

seyn ech of tho, wo, wo, wo. How greet ben these derknessis: ther we goen.

Vers. Maker of nouȝt alle thingis, god, that fourmedist me of the slym of erthe and wondirfulliche with thin owne blood hast bouȝt us: thouȝ my bodi rote now, thou shalt make it ryse of the sepulcre in the day of doom. Heere me, heere me, heere that thou comaunde my soule be put in the bosum of abraham thi patriark.

Vers. Whanne thou shalt come and iuge the world bi fier.

Vers. Delyuere me, lord, of the weies of helle: thou that brakist the ȝatis of bras and visitidist helle: ȝaue liȝt to hem, that thei that weren in the peynes myȝten se thee, criynge and seiynge, thou art come oure aȝenbier.

Vers. Delyuere me, lord, of endeles deeth in that dredeful dai, whanne that heuenes shulen be moued fro the erthe.[61]

Vers. Reste thei in pees.

Resp. Amen.

In laudis.[62] *Antifne.*

Meekid boonys[63] shulen ioie to the lord.

Ps. Miserere mei deus.

HAUE merci on me, god, aftir thi greet merci.[64] *Ant.* Heere, lord.

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copy. The addition in the text is very remarkable.

[61] This verse again is different from the usual editions, which repeat the verse: *Qui portas æreas confregisti.* Here the Cambridge MS. follows the common reading.

[62] The editions seldom divide lauds in this way from the matins: but pass on at once without remark to the antiphon, *Exultabunt.* The text follows the more exact arrangement of the breviary. The Cambridge MS. omits the antiphon.

[63] *Ossa humiliata.*

[64] Vide p. 87. The king's prymer has instead of this the xxix. ps. *Exaltabo te,* with this title: "¶ Thankes be geuen for health recouered. The goodnes of God is praised, who for a litle aduersitie sendeth muche comfort."

Ps. Te decet ympnus deus.[65]

GOD, heriyng bicometh thee in syon: and a uow shal be yoldun to thee in ierusalem.

Heere thou my preier: ech man shal come to thee.

The wordis of wickid men hadden the maistrye ouer us: and thou shalt do merci to oure wickidnessis.

Blessid is he whom thou hast chose, and hast take: he shal dwelle in thi forȝerdis.

We shulen be fillid with the goodis of thin hous: thi temple is wondirful hooli in euenhede.[66]

God, oure helthe, heere thou us: thou art hope of alle coostis of erthe, and in the see afer.

And thou makist redi hillis in thi vertu, and art gurd with power: whiche disturblist the depthe of the see, the sown of the wawis therof.

Folkis shulen be disturblid, and thei that dwellen in the eendis shulen drede of thi signes: thou shalt delite the outgoyngis of the morwtiid and euentiid.

Thou hast visitid the lond and maad it drunke: thou hast multiplied to make it riche.

The flood of god was fillid with watris: thou madist redy the mete of hem, for the making redi therof is so.

Thou fillinge greetly the stremys therof, multiplie

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[65] "¶ De baptismo et alimento novæ legis, omniumque gentium ad fidei veritatem vocatione per evangelii prædicationem." ps. lxiiij. (1531.) In the king's prymer, *Esa.* xxxviij. "¶ Thankes for recouery of helth."

[66] *Mirabile in equitate.* In the later books "merueylous in equite." "Wondurful in equyte," Cambr. MS.

the fruytis therof: the lond brynginge fruytis shal be glad in the goteris[67] of it.

Thou shalt blesse the coroun of the yeer of thi good wille: and thi feeldis shulen be fillid with plentee of fruytis.

The faire thingis of desert shulen wexe fatte: and litle hillis shulen be cumpassid with fulout ioying.

The wetheris of sheep[68] ben clothid, and valeis shulen be plenteuous of wheete: thei shulen crie and sotheli thei shulen seie herying.

Ant. Heere, lord, my preiere: to thee shal come euery fleish.

Ant. Lord, thi riȝthond uptook me.

Ps.[69]

GOD, my god, to thee I wakid.

Ant. Fro the ȝatis.

Ps.[70] *Ego dixi.*

I SEIDE in the myddis of my daies: I shal go to the ȝatis of helle.

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[67] *In stillicidiis ejus.* It shall englad the out sprynges. 1538, &c.

[68] *Arietes ovium.* The rammes of the flocke. 1538.

[69] The Latin of the first words is not given in this instance, in the MS. "*Deus, deus meus.* ps. lxij. ℂ In quo monet recte conversari in medio nationis pravæ." (1531.) The king's prymer has, "Ps. lxx. *In te, Domine, speravi.* ℂ With God is oure onely refuge, we must praye to him, and in him put al our trust, and him praise and magnifie."

[70] The MS. following the breviary omits the ps. lxvj. *Deus misereatur*, which is in almost all the horæ and later prymers.

From hence, the king's prymer appoints no more psalms; an alteration (the reader will remember) which occurred before according to that order. See note above.

Esaye, capitulo xxxviij. "ℂ De brevitate et inopinata succisione

I souȝte the residue of my yeeris: I seide, I shal not se the lord god in the lond of lyueris.

I shal no more biholde a man: and a dwellere of reste.

My generacioun is takun awei, and is foldid togidere fro me: as the tabernacle of shepardis is foldid togidere.

My liif is kitt doun[71] as a webbe: he kittide me doun the while I was wouun yit.

Fro the morwetide til to the euentiid thou shalt ende me, I hopide unto the morwetide: as a lyoun so he al to brac alle my boonys.

Fro the morwetide unto the euentiid thou shalt ende me: as the bird of a swalowe so I shal crie, I shal bithenke as a culuer.[72]

Myn yȝen biholdinge an hiȝ: ben maad feble.

Lord, I suffre violence, aunswere thou for me: what shal I seie ethir what shal I answere to me, whanne I haue don.

I shal bithenke to thee alle my yeeris: in the bitternesse of my soule.

Lord, if me lyueth so, and the liif of my spirit is in suche thingis: thou shalt chastise me and shalt quykene me, lo my bitternesse is moost bittir in pees.

Forsothe, thou hast delyuered my soule that it

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humanæ vitæ: et Deo non post mortem sed vita adhuc superstite laudando." (1531.) "¶ The songe of Ezechias." (1538, &c.)

[71] *Præcisa est.*

[72] *Meditabor ut columba.* In the later books, "as a doue." *Culfre*, A. S. a dove.

"And anoon he went up of the watris, and syghe hevenes opened, and the Holy Gost comynge doun as a *culvere*, and dwellynge in him." *Wiclif*, Mark, c. j. (*Richardson*.)

perishe not: thou hast cast awei bihynde thi bac alle my synnes.

For not helle shal knowleche to thee, nethir deeth shal herie thee: thei that goen doun into the lake, shulen not abide thi trewthe.

A lyuynge man, a lyuynge man he shal knowleche to thee, as and I to dai: the fadir shal make knowun thi treuthe to sones.

Lord, make thou me saaf: and we shulen synge oure salmes in alle the daies of oure liif, in the hous of the lord.

Ant. Fro the ȝatis of helle, lord, delyuere the soulis of hem.

Ant. Euery spirit preise the lord.

Ps. Laudate dominum de celis.[73]

YE of heuenes herie ye the lord.

Vers.[74] Endeles reste, lord, ȝyue to hem.

Resp. And perpetuel liȝt shyne to hem.

Ant. I am aȝen risyng and liif: he that bileeueth in me thouȝ he be deed he shal lyue, and ony man that lyueth and bileeueth in me shal not die withouten ende.

Ps. Benedictus dominus.[75]

BLESSID be the lord god of israel.[76]

Lord, haue merci on us.

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[73] "Ps. clxvij. ℭ In quo monet ad laudandum Deum." (1531.)

[74] The Cambridge MS. and the printed editions, but not the breviary, add here two other psalms: *Cantate Domino canticum novum*, and *Laudate Dominum in sanctis ejus.*

[75] Vide this, p. 24.

[76] Here also the manuscript follows the rubric of the breviary and differs from the general arrangement of the prymers and horæ: which latter before the *Benedictus* say only the first two

Crist, haue merci on us.
Lord, haue merci on us.
Oure fadir.
Heil marie.

Whanne the pater noster and aue maria ben seid: begynne and seie this salm, with oute rehersinge And lede us not into temptacioun.[77]

Ps. Exaltabo te domine.[78]

LORD, I shal enhaunce thee for thou hast uptake me: and thou delitedist not myn enemies on me.

My lord god, I criede to thee: and thou madist me hool.

Lord, thou leddist out my soule fro helle: thou sauedist me fro hem that goen doun into the lake.

Ye seyntis of the lord, synge to the lord: and knowleche ye to the mynde of his hoolynesse.

For ire is in his indignacioun: and liif is in his wille.

Wepynge shal dwelle at euentide: and gladnesse at morwetiid.

Forsothe I seide in my plentee: I shal not be moued withouten ende.

Lord, in thi wille: thou hast ȝouen vertu to my fairnesse.

Thou turnedist awei thi face fro me: and I am made disturblid.

---

words of the antiphon, *Ego sum:* and repeat it entire after it.

[77] *Sine pronunciatione.* Et ne nos. *Rubr. brev. Sar.* Ave Maria just before is not in the Cambridge MS. or printed horæ and prymers, or breviary.

[78] "Ps. xxix. ¶ De reductione Christi ab inferis, et liberatione fidelium a malis quibus ante premebantur." (1531.)

Lord, I shal crie to thee: and I shal preie to my god.

What profiit is in my blood: while I go doun into corrupcioun.

Wher dust shal knowleche to thee:[79] ethir shal telle thi trewthe.

The lord herde and hadde merci on me: the lord is maad myn helper.

Thou hast turned my weiling in to ioye to me: thou hast to rent my sak,[80] and hast cumpasside me with gladnesse.

That my glorie synge to thee and I be not compunct:[81] my lord god, I shal knowleche to thee withouten ende.

Vers. Endeles reste ȝyue hem, lord.
Resp. And perpetuel liȝt shyne to hem.
Vers. Fro the ȝatis of helle.
Resp. Lord, delyuere her soulis.
Vers. I bileeue to se goodis of the lord.
Resp. In the lond of lyuynge men.
Vers. Reste thei in pees.
Resp. So be it.
Vers. Lord, heer my preiere.
Resp. And my cri come to thee.

Preie we.

Oracio. Deus cui proprium est.[82]

GOD to whom it longith aloone to haue merci.

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[79] *Nunquid confitebitur tibi pulvis?*

[80] *Concidisti saccum meum.*

[81] *Et non compungar.*

[82] Vide this, p. 110. Instead of this, in the prymer of 1545:—

"O God, whiche by the mouth of S. Paule thyne apostle hast taught vs, not to wayle for them that slepe in Christ: Graunt we beseche the that in the comyng of thy sonne our lorde Jesu Christ,

Deus qui patrem.[83]

GOD that comaundedist.

Deus cuius misericordie.[84]

GOD, of whos merci is no noumbre, undirfonge[85] oure preieris for the soulis of bishopis thi seruauntis: and graunte thou to hem, the kyngdom of liȝt and of ioie in the felowship of seyntis. Amen.

Inclina domine aurem.[86]

LORD, bowe thin eere.

Animabus quesumus domine.[87]

LORD, we bisechen the preier of men preiynge profite to the soulis of alle trewe dede men,

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bothe we and all other faithful people beyng departed may be gratiously brought vnto the ioyes euerlastyng, whiche shalt come to iuge the quicke and dead, and the worlde by fire. Amen."

[83] See above, p. 124. Instead of this, the breviary and later editions of the horæ appoint the following: as the rubric of the first has it, *In trigintalibus*:—

"Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, cui nunquam sine spe misericordiæ supplicatur: propitiare animæ famuli tui, *vel*, famulæ tuæ N. ut qui *vel* quæ de hac vita in tui nominis confessione decessit: sanctorum tuorum numero facias aggregari."

Thus rendered in the prymer of 1538, &c.:—

"Almyghty eternall god, to whome there is neuer any prayoure made, without hope of forgyuenes, be mercyfull to the soule of thy seruaunt N. that, seynge it departyd from this lyfe in the confessyon of thy name, thou wilt cause it to be associate to the company of thy sayntes."

The English is the same in the prymer of 1545: but the Latin version is different: this is the case also with the two other collects not omitted.

[84] *Pro episcopis defunctis.* Rubr. Sar. brev. Omitted in the king's prymer: nor is it in the Cambridge MS.

[85] *Suscipe.* "Admytte" in the later books.

[86] *Pro fratribus et sororibus ad laudes.* Rubr. brev. Sar. Vide this, p. 124.

[87] *Deinde dicatur oratio pro familiaribus privatim ad placi-

that bothe thou delyuere hem fro alle synnes, and make to be parceners of thin aȝenbiynge.[88] Whiche lyuest and regnest god, with god the fadir and the hooli goost, bi alle worldis of worldis. Amen.

Reste thei in pees. Amen.[89]

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tum, quibus dictis sequatur oratio generalis in audientia. Rubr. brev. Sar.

[88] *Tuæ redemptionis facias esse participes.*

[89] The editions do not always appoint this: and instead of it in the king's prymer is to be said: "God haue mercy on all christen solles."

At the end of this office in many editions of the horæ and prymers is this rubric:—

"¶ Thys psalme folowinge is to be sayd bytwene alhalountyde and easter." Or as it is in the Latin books: "¶ In feriis inter festum animarum et pascha." Then follows the cxlj. psalm, succeeded by this prayer and response:

"To the holy and indivisible Trynite, to the humanyte of Iesu Chryste crucyfied, glorye infynite be gyuen of euery creature worlde without ende. So be it.

"Blessyd be the swete name of our lorde Jesu Christe, and of the gloryous virgyn Mary his mother, for euermore." Edit. 1528, 1543, &c. This is not in the prymers set forth by queen Mary.

Sometimes another prayer is inserted: which I shall transcribe:—

"¶ *Oratio.* Domine Jesu Christe, salus et liberatio fidelium animarum, qui non venisti animas perdere sed salvare: et dare animam tuam in redemptionem pro multis: immensam clementiam tuam ac ineffabilem misericordiam tuam humiliter imploramus: ut animas omnium fidelium defunctorum in pœnis purgatorii cruciatas misericorditer respicere digneris: et quæ juste pro peccatis affliguntur tua benignissima pietate liberentur, subveniatque illis tua misericordia quas pretioso sanguine tuo redemisti. Et per merita beatissimæ gloriosissimæque virginis Mariæ: et omnium sanctorum et sanctarum eas ab inferorum cruciatibus liberare, et inter animas sanctorum tuorum collocare digneris: veste quoque immortalitatis indui et paradisi amœnitate jubeas confoveri. Qui cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto vivis et regnas Deus." *Horæ ad vsum Sar.* 1508, 1520, 1531, &c. I do not remember to have seen this in English.

And, once more, the enchiridions contain a special short

Here bigynnen the psalmes of commendacioun.[90]

Ant. Euerlastynge reste.[91]

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office, *Pro muliere impregnata.* This consists of the "ps. Beatus vir qui non abiit in consilio impiorum. — Gloria Patri. — Sicut erat.—*Ant.* Maria peperit Christum: Anna Mariam: Elizabeth Joannem: Cecilia Remigium: sic me feliciter parere concedat omnipotens Deus in perfecto maturitatis tempore." This office in the same volumes is succeeded by the psalm "Qui habitat in adjutorio altissimi:" to be said, *contra omnia adversa.* These two latter offices do not seem to be exactly connected with the dirge or commendations, between which they occur: but I mention them on account of their intrinsic importance, especially the first: and also because it shews that the student must not expect in his examination of the ancient service books of the English church to find an invariable agreement even in their arrangement.

[90] The Roman breviary at present contains at the end the "ordo commendationis animæ," but the office is altogether different from the one now before us: *The commendations,* or *psalms of commendation,* or the *commendations of the souls,* by all which names it is called in the old English prymers and horæ. In the Roman breviary it is in fact the same office as that which is in the ritual, and is added to the breviary that every priest might always have it at hand, when called suddenly to the bed-side of a dying person. As Gavantus says (tom. ij. 273): "Magni momenti, unde pendet æternitas, est exitus animarum de suis corporibus: et ideo cuicunque sacerdoti, nedum parocho, datur facultas commendandi animas Deo in hora mortis, et in transitu earumdem animarum." This office of commendation contains a litany, and several prayers adapted especially to the condition of a departing soul: with this rubric towards the end; "*Si anxiatur adhuc anima, dicuntur hi psalmi, videlicet* Confitemini Domino. *et totus ps.* Beati immaculati."

But the office of the text is rather an appendage to the dirge: and was to be said, if in choir, after prime and the reading of the martyrology. As it is appointed, for example, in the statutes of the hospital of St. Leonard, York. "Dicta prima, ingrediantur capitulum ... postmodum ingrediantur chorum, et dicant commendationem animarum." *Dugdale,* Monast. Anglic. vol. vj. 610. In private, it was of course to be recited as opportunity would serve: and

Ps. Beati immaculati in.

BLESSID ben men withoute wem in the weie: that goen in the lawe of the lord.

Blessid ben thei that seken hise witnessyngis: seken him in al the herte.

For thei that worchen wickidnesse: geden [92] not in hise weies.

Thou hast comaundid: that thin heestis be kept greetli.

---

might be used by any one, whether clerical or lay.

The commendations are omitted altogether in the unauthorized prymer, before mentioned, compiled by bishop Hilsey. The prymer of 1545 has the office, that is, the cxixth psalm only, without any prayer at the end or anthem at the beginning, with this rubric or preface before it: "¶ This psalme is the A. B. C. of godly loue, the paradise of lernyng, the shop of the holy gost (*officina spiritus sancti*), the scole of trueth. In whiche appeareth howe the sainctes of God esteme his holy lawes, howferuently they be geuen vnto them, howe it greueth them that they shulde be despised, howe feruently they desyre to learne them, to walke in them, and to fulfyl them: fynally, how the transgressours and aduersaries of them shal be punished and destroyed."

The divisions of this psalm are in the old books often called *Octonariæ*. "¶ Octonariæ et spirituales meditationes ad recognoscendum quæ sunt studia pietatis et vitæ." *Horæ*, 1531. Or again, as explained in the short prologue before the commendations, in the prymer of 1538, *Le Roux*: "This psalme folowynge, accordynge to the numbre of the Hebrewe letters is diuided into xxij. partes, whiche are called octonaries, bicause euerie of them conteyneth eyght verses." I must add, the author of the prologue or "argument" goes on at some length to explain that this psalm can only be referred to the benefit of the living as a spiritual meditation, "or else to be the voyce of those blessed soules, whiche beinge rysen with Christ in a newnes of lyfe, do contynually crye and call vpon hym, to be instructed after his worde and commaundement."

[91] This anthem, already observed to be omitted in the king's prymer, does not always occur in the earlier horæ, &c.: nor is it in the Cambridge MS.

[92] *Ambulaverunt.*

I wolde that my weies be dressid: to kepe thi iustifiyngis.

Thanne I shal not be shent: whanne I shal biholde perfitli in alle thin heestis.[93]

I shal knowleche to thee in the dressynge of herte: in that that I lernede the domes of thi riȝtfulnes.

I shal kepe thi iustifiyngis: forsake thou not me on ech syde.[94]

In quo corrigit.

IN what thing amendith the yong wexinge man[95] hise weie: in keping thi wordis.

In al myn herte I souȝte thee: putte thou me not awei fro thin heestis.

In myn herte I hidde thi spechis: that I do not syne aȝens thee.

Lord, thou art blessid: teche thou me thi iustifiyngis.

In my lippis I haue pronouncid:[96] alle the domes of thi mouth.

I delitide in the weie of thi witnessyngis: as in alle richessis.

I shal be exercisid eythir bysyli occupied[97] in thin heestis: and I shal biholde thi weies.

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[93] *Cum perspexero in omnibus mandatis tuis.* In the later books, "whan I shal bee wel seen in all thy comaundementes." 1538, &c. "when I shal see through." 1543. "when I shal behold." 1545.

[94] *Non me derelinquas usquequaque.* "Thou shalt not forsake me at no tyme." 1538, &c. "Forsake me not vtterly." 1545.

[95] *Adolescentior.*

[96] *Pronuntiavi.* "I haue bene tellyng." 1545.

[97] These words *eythir bysyli occupied* are an evident gloss; which is not underlined as in some cases in the manuscript or written in the margin as in others. "I schal be occupied in thin hestis." Cambridge MS.

I shal bithenke in thi iustifiyngis: I shal not forȝete thi wordis.

Retribue seruo.

YELDE [98] to thi seruaunt: quyke thou me and I shal kepe thi wordis.

Liȝtne thou myn yȝen: and I shal biholde merueilis of thi lawe.

I am a comeling in erthe: hide thou not thin heestis fro me.

My soule coueitide: to desire thi iustifiyngis in al tyme.

Thou blamedist the proude: thei ben cursid that bowen awei [99] fro thin heestis.

Do thou awei fro me shenship and dispising: for I souȝte thi witnessyngis.

For whi, princis saten and spaken aȝens me: but thi seruaunt was bodili ocupied in thi iustifiyngis.

For whi, and thi witnessyngis is my thenking: [1] and my counceil is thi iustifiyngis.

Adhesit pauimento.

MY soule cleuyde to the pawment: quyke thou me bi thi word.

I teelde out my weies and thou herdist me: teche thou me thi iustifiyngis.

Lerne thou me the weie of thi iustifiyngis: and I shal be excercisid in thi meruieilis.

My soule nappide for anoie: [2] conferme thou me in thi wordis.

---

[98] *Retribue.*

[99] *Qui declinant.* In the later versions, "which declyne."

[1] *Nam et testimonia tua.* "For thy testymonyes is my medytacyons." 1538, &c. "are my meditation." 1545.

[2] *Dormitavit anima mea præ*

Remoue thou fro me the weie of wickidnesse: and in thi lawe haue thou merci on me.

I chees[3] the weie of treuthe: I forȝat not thi doomes.

Lord, I cleuede to thi witnessyngis: nyle thou shende me.[4]

I ran the weie of thi comaundementis: whanne thou alargedist myn herte.[5]

Legem pone michi.

LORD, sette thou to me a lawe, the weie of thi iustifiyngis: and I shal seke it euer.

ȝyue thou undirstondinge to me, and I shal seke thi lawe: and shal kepe it in al myn herte.

Lede me forth in the path of myn hestis:[6] for I wolde it.

Bowe thou myn herte in to thi witnessyngis: and not in to auarice.

Turne thou awei myn yȝen, that tho se not uanite: quykene thou me in thi weie.

Ordeyne thi speche to thi seruaunt: in thi drede.

Kitte awei my shenship which I supposide:[7] for thi doomes ben myrie.[8]

Lo, I coueitide thi comaundementis: quykene thou me in thin equite.

---

tædio. In the later books, "My soule hath slept for werynes."

[3] Elegi.

[4] Noli me confundere. "Confounde nat me." 1538. "Put me not to confusion." 1545.

[5] *Cum dilatasti cor meum.* "Whan thou hast eased my herte." 1538, &c. The prymer of 1543 has *dilectasti*, a misprint.

[6] *Mandatorum tuorum.* An error for "*thine* heestis."

[7] *Amputa opprobrium meum quod suspicatus sum.* "Cut of myne opprobry whiche I suspectyd." 1538, &c. "Cut off the rebuke that I am afrayde of." 1545.

[8] *Quia judicia tua jucunda.*

Et ueniat.

AND, lord, thi merci come on me: thin heelthe cum bi thi speche.[9]

And I shal answere a word to men seiynge shenship to me: for I hopide in thi wordis.

And take thou not awei fro my mouth the word of treuthe utterli: for I hopide aboue in thi domes.

And I shal kepe thi lawe euer in to the world: and into the world of world.

And I gede in largenesse:[10] for I souȝte thi comaundementis.

And I spake of thi witnessyngis in the siȝt of kyngis: and I was not shent.

And I bithouȝte in thin heestis: which I louede.

And I reisid myn hondis to thin comaundementis which I louede: and I shal be exercisid in thi iustifiyngis.

Memor esto.

LORD, haue thou mynde on thi word to thi seruaunt: in whiche word thou hast ȝoue hope to me.

This counfortide me in my lownesse:[11] for thi word quykenede me.

Proude men diden wickidli bi alle thingis: but I bowide not awei fro thi lawe.

Lord, I was myndeful on thi domes fro the world: and I was counfortid.

Failyng heeld me:[12] for synneris forsakinge thi lawe.

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[9] *Secundum eloquium tuum.*

[10] *Et ambulabam in latitudine.*

[11] *In humilitate mea.*

[12] *Defectio tenuit me.* "Defaute hath holden me." 1538, &c. "I haue fainted." 1545.

Thi iustifiyngis weren delitable to me to be sungun: in the place of my pilgrimage.

Lord, I hadde mynde of thi name bi nyȝte: and I kepte thi lawe.

This thing was maad to me: for I souȝte thi iustifiyngis.

Porcio mea domine.

LORD, my part: I seide to kepe thi lawe.

I bisouȝte thi face in al myn herte: haue thou merci on me bi thi speche.

I bithouȝte my weies: and turned my feet into thi witnessyngis.

I am redi, and I am not disturblid: to kepe thi comaundementis.

The coordis of synneris han biclippid me:[13] and I haue not forȝete thi lawe.

At mydnyȝt I roos to knowleche to thee:[14] on the domes of thi iustifiyngis.

I am parcener[15] of alle that dreden thee: and kepen thin heestis.

Lord, the erthe is ful of thi merci: teche thou me thi iustifiyngis.

Bonitatem fecisti.

LORD, thou hast do goodnesse with thi seruaunt: bi thi word.

Teche thou me goodnesse, and lore, and kunnyng:[16] for I bileeued to thin heestis.

---

[13] *Funes peccatorum circumplexi sunt me.* In the later books, "haue bewrapte me."

Be-clippan. A. S. To embrace: to surround. "And he took a child and sette him in the myddil of hem, and whanne he hadde *biclipped* him, he seyde to hem." *Wiclif*, Mark, c. 9. (*Richardson.*)

[14] *Ad confitendum tibi.*

[15] *Particeps ego sum.*

[16] *Et disciplinam et scientiam.* "Lerninge and knowledge" in the later books.

Bifore I was maad meek, I trespasside: therfor I kept thi speche.

Thou art good: and in thi goodnesse teche thou me thi iustifiyngis.

The wickidnesse of hem that ben proude is multipliede on me: but in al myn herte I shal seke thin heestis.

The hert of hem is cruddid as mylk:[17] but I bithouȝte thi lawe.

It is good to me that thou hast maad me meek: that I lerne thi iustifiyngis.

The lawe of thi mouth is better to me: than thousandis of gold and siluer.

Manus tue fecerunt.

THYN hondis maden me and fourmeden me: ȝyue thou undirstondinge to me, that I lerne thin heestis.

Thei that dreden thee shulen se me, and shulen be glad: for I hopide more on thi wordis.

Lord, I knew that thi domes ben equyte: and in thi treuthe thou hast maad me meek.

Thi merci be maad that it counfort me: bi thi speche to thi seruaunt.

Thi merciful doyngis come to me, and I shal lyue: for thi lawe is my thenking.

Thei that ben proude be shent, for uniustli thei

[17] *Coagulatum est sicut lac cor eorum.* The horæ and prymers up to 1545 repeat a curious error, viz. "*My* herte is congeled like milk." It was then however corrected, and strangely enough restored (if I may so say) in the prymers of queen Mary: probably some old copies were reprinted with all errors, no notice being taken of the intermediate and heretical books of devotion.

diden wickidnesse aȝens me: but I shal be exercisid in thin heestis.

Thei that dreden thee be turned to me: and thei that knowen thi witnessyngis.

Myn herte be maad unwemmed in thi iustifiyngis: that I be not shent.

Defecit in salutare.

MY soule failide into thi saluacioun:[18] and I hopide more in thi word.

Myn yȝen faileden into thi speche: seiynge, whanne shalt thou comforte me.

For I am maad as a bowge in forst:[19] I haue not forȝete thi iustifiyngis.

How manye ben the daies of thi seruaunt: whanne thou shalt make doom of hem that pursuen me.

Wickid men teelden to me ianglyngis:[20] but not as thi lawe.

Alle thi comaundementis ben treuthe: wickid men han pursued me, help thou me.

Almeest thei endiden me in erthe: but I forsook not thi comaundementis.

---

[18] *Deficit in salutare tuum anima mea.*

[19] *Quia factus sum sicut uter in pruina.* The king's prymer only, excepting of course the orarium, has in the margin of the Latin *fumo.* All the later versions read "lyke a bottle in the smoke."

Bouge, says Richardson, To *bilge* or *bulge:* and he adds, *utres* is by Holland rendered *bouges*, i.e. something swelling or bellying out.

"For it soundeth not like a truth, that horsemen with their armor and horses safe could overcome so great a rage of the river, although we should grant that all the Spaniards gat over upon blown bladders and leathern *bouges.*" *Holland, Livius*, p. 420.

[20] *Narraverunt mihi iniqui fabulationes.* In the later versions, "wycked men haue shewed to me fables." 1538, &c.

Bi thi merci quykene thou me: and I shal kepe the witnessyngis of thi mouthe.

In eternum domine.

LORD, thi word dwellith in heuene: withouten ende.

Thi treuthe dwellith in generacioun and into generacioun: thou hast foundid the erthe, and it dwellith.

The day lastith continualy bi thin ordinaunce: for alle thingis seruen to thee.

Nobut that[21] thi lawe was my thenkyng: thanne perauenture I had perishid in my lownesse.

Withouten ende I shal not forȝete thi iustifiyngis: for in tho thou hast quykene me.

I am thin, make thou me saaf: for I haue souȝte thi iustifiyngis.

Synners aboden me for to leese me:[22] I undirstode thi witnessyngis.

I syȝ the ende of alle ende:[23] thi comaundement is ful large.

Quomodo dilexi.

LORD, how louede I thi lawe: al day it is my thenkyng.

Aboue myne enemyes thou madist me prudent bi thi comaundement: for it is to me withouten ende.

I undirstoode aboue alle men techynge me: for thi witnessyngis is my thenking.

---

[21] *Nisi quod.*

[22] *Me expectaverunt peccatores ut perderent me.* "Synners haue lokyd for me to dystroye me." 1538, &c.

[23] *Omnis consummationis vidi finem.*

I undirstood aboue elde men: for I souȝte thi comaundementis.

I forbeed my feet fro al yuel weie: that I kepe thi wordis.

I bowide not fro thi domes: for thou hast set a lawe to me.

Thi spechis ben ful swete to my chekis:[24] aboue hony to my mouth.

I undirstood of thin heestis: therfore I hatide al the weie of wickidnesse.

Lucerna pedibus meis.

THI word is a lanterne to my feet: and liȝt to my pathis.

I swoor, and I purposide stidefastly: to kepe the domes of thi riȝtfulnesse.

I am maad low bi alle thingis: lord, quykene thou me bi thi word.

Lord, make thou wel plesinge the wilful thingis of my mouth:[25] and teche thou me thi domes.

My soule is euer in myn hondis: and I forȝat not thi lawe.

Synneris settiden a snare to me: and I erride not fro thi comaundementis.

I purchaside thi witnessyngis bi eritage withouten ende:[26] for tho ben the ful ioiyng of myn herte.

I bowide myn herte to do thi iustifiyngis withouten ende: for yelding.[27]

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[24] *Quam dulcia faucibus meis eloquia tua.* "To my iawes." 1538, &c. "unto my tast." 1545.

[25] *Voluntaria oris mei beneplacita fac Domine.* In the later versions, "The voluntarye thynges of my mouthe (o lorde) make them acceptable to thee."

[26] *Hæreditate acquisivi testimonia tua in æternum.* "I haue gotten thy testymonyes by inherytaunce for euer." 1538.

[27] *Propter retributionem.*

Iniquos odio habui.

I HATIDE wickid men: and I louede thi lawe. Thou art myn helper and myn uptaker:[28] and I hopide more on thi word.

Ye wickid men bowe awei fro me: and I shal seke the comaundementis of my god.

Uptake thou me bi thi word and I shal lyue: and shende thou not me fro myn abiding.

Helpe thou me and I shal be saaf: and I shal bithenke euer in thi iustifiyngis.

Thou hast forsake alle men goynge awei fro thi domes: for the thouȝt of hem is uniust.

I arettide[29] alle the synneris of erthe, brekeris of lawe: therfore I louede thi witnessyngis.

Naile[30] thou my fleishis with thi drede: for I dredde of thi domes.

Feci iudicium.

I DIDE doom and riȝtwisnesse: bitake thou not me to hem that falsli calengen me.[31]

Take up thi seruaunt in to goodnesse: thei that ben proude calenge not me.

Myn yȝen faileden into thi saluacioun: and in to the speche of thi riȝtfulnesse.

Do thou with thi seruaunt bi thi merci: and teche thou me thi iustifiyngis.

I am thi seruaunt, ȝyue thou undirstonding to me: that I kunne[32] thi witnessyngis.

Lord, it is tyme to do: thei han distried thi lawe.

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[28] *Et susceptor meus.* "And my receyuer." 1538, &c. "My defender." 1545.

[29] *Reputavi.*

[30] *Confige,* "afflyct." 1538. "stryke." 1545.

[31] *Calumniantibus me.*

[32] *Ut sciam.*

Therfore I louede thi comaundementis: more than gold and topazion.[33]

Therfore I was dressid to alle thin heestis: I hatide al wickid weie.

Mirabilia testimonia.

LORD, thi witnessyngis ben wondirful: therfore my soule souȝte tho.

Declaring of thi wordis liȝtneth: and ȝyueth undirstonding to meke men.

I openyd my mouth and drouȝ the spirit:[34] for I desirid thi comaundementis.

Biholde thou on me, and haue thou merci on me: bi the doom of hem that louen thi name.

Dresse thou my goyngis bi thi speche: that al unriȝtfulnesse haue not lordship on me.

Aȝen bie thou me fro the false calengis of men: that I kepe thin heestis.

Liȝtne thi face on thi seruaunt: and teche thou me thi iustifiyngis.

Myn yȝen ledden forth the outgoyngis of watris: for thei kepten not thi lawe.

Justus es, domine.

LORD, thou art iust: and thi doom is riȝtful.

Thou hast comaundid riȝtfulnesse thi witnessyngis: and thi treuthe greetly to be kept.

My feruent loue made me to be mekid: for myn enemyes forȝate thi wordis.

Thi speche is greetly set a fire:[35] and thi seruaunt louede it.

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[33] Aboue gold and topase. 1538, 1545, &c.

[34] *Et attraxi spiritum.*

[35] *Ignitum eloquium tuum ve-*

I am yonge and dispisid: I forȝat not thi iustifiyngis.

Lord, thi riȝtfulnesse is riȝtfulnesse withouten ende: and thi lawe is treuthe.

Tribulacioun and angwish founden me: thin heestis is my thinkyng.

Thi witnessyngis is equite withouten ende: ȝyue thou undirstonding to me, and I shal lyue.

Clamaui in toto corde.

I CRIEDE in al myn herte, lord, here thou me: I shal seke thi iustifiyngis.

I criede to thee, make me saaf: that I kepe thi comaundementis.

I bifore cam in ripenesse [86] and I criede: I hopide aboue on thi wordis.

Myn yȝen bifore camen unto thee ful erly: that I shulde bithenke thi spechis.

Lord, heere thou my vois bi thi merci: and quykene thou me bi thi doom.

Thei that pursuen me neiȝeden [87] to wickidnesse: for sothe thei ben maad fer fro thi lawe.

Lord, thou art nyȝ: and alle thi weies ben treuthe.

In the bigynnyng I knew of thi witnessyngis: for thou hast foundid tho withouten ende.

Vide humilitatem.

SE thou my mekenesse and delyuere thou me: for I forȝat not thi lawe.

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hementer. "Thy worde is excedyngly burned." 1538, &c. "Thy worde is vtterly tried with fyre." 1545.

[86] *Præveni in maturitate.* "I haue prevented in time." 1545.

[87] *Appropinquaverunt.*

Deeme thou my doom, and aȝenbie thou me: quykene thou me for thi speche.

Heelthe is fer fro synneris: for thei souȝten not thi iustifiyngis.

Lord, thi mercies ben manye: quykene thou me bi thi doom.

Thei ben manye that pursuen me, and doen tribulacioun to me: I bowide not awei fro thi witnessyngis.

I siȝ brekeris of thi lawe[38] and I was melted: for thei kepten not thi spechis.

Lord, se thou for I louede thi comaundementis: quykene thou me in thi mercy.

The bigynnyng of thi wordis is treuthe: alle the doomes of thi riȝtfulnesse ben withouten ende.

Principes persecuti.

PRYNSIS pursueden me withouten cause: and mi herte dredde of thi wordis.

I shal be glad on thi spechis: as he that fyndith many spoilis.

I hatide and wlatide[39] wickidnesse: forsothe I louede thi lawe.

I seide heriyngis to thee, seuene sithis[40] in the dai: on the doomes of thi riȝtfulnesse.

Moche pees is to hem that louen thi lawe: and no sclaundir is to hem.

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[38] *Vidi prævaricantes.*

[39] i. e. loathed: from A. S. wlætian, akin to the Scotch *laidly* and the French *laid.*

[40] *Siththan. Sið.* A. S. turn, time.—"These felons full of falsity; hath many *sithes* beguiled me." *Chaucer.* Richardson's remarks should be consulted.

Lord, I abood thi saluacioun: and I louede thin heestis.

My soule kept thi witnessyngis: and louede tho greetli.

I kepte thi comaundementis and thi witnessyngis: for alle my weies ben in thi siȝt.

Appropuinquet deprecacio.

LORD, my bisechinge come nyȝ in thi siȝt: bi thi speche ȝyue thou undirstonding to me.

Myn axing entre in thi siȝt: bi thi speche delyuere thou me.

My lippis shulen telle out an ympne:[41] whanne thou hast tauȝt me thi iustifiyngis.

My tunge shal pronunce thi speche: for whi, alle thi comaundementis ben equite.

Thin hond be maad that it saue me: for I haue chosun thin heestis.

Lord, I coueitide thin heelthe: and thi lawe is my thenkyng.

My soule shal lyue, and shal herie thee: and thi domes shulen helpe me.

I erride as a sheep that perishide: lord, seke thi seruaunt, for I forȝat not thi comaundementis.[42]

Vers. Lord, ȝyue to hem endeles reste.
Resp. And endeles liȝt shyne to hem.
Lord, haue merci on us.
Crist, haue merci on us.
Lord, haue merci on us.
Oure fadir, that.

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[41] *Eructabunt labia mea hymnum.* In the later books, "my lyppes shall power forth thy prayse."

[42] To the end of this office is omitted in the king's prymer.

Seye not, Et ne nos: but, Domine probasti.

LORD, thou hast proued me and hast knowun me: thou hast knowun my sitting and my risyng aȝen.

Thou hast undirstonde my thouȝtis fro fer: thou hast enquerid my path and my corde.[43]

And thou hast bifore seyn alle my weies: for no word is in my tunge.

Lo, lord, thou hast knowe alle the last thingis and elde: thou hast fourmed me and hast sett thin hond on me.

Thi kunning is maad wondirful of me: it is counfortide and I shal not mowe to it.[44]

Whidur shal I go fro thi spirit: and whidur shal I fle fro thi face.

If I shal stie into heuene, thou art ther: if I shal go doun in to helle, thou art present.

If I shal take my fetheris ful erly: and shal dwelle in the laste parties of the see.

And sothely thidur thin hond shal lede me forth: and thi riȝthond shal holde me.

And I seide, in hap derknessis shulen defoule me:[45] and the nyȝt is my liȝtnynge in my delicis.

For whi, derknessis shulen not be maad derk fro thee, and thi nyȝt shal be liȝtned as the day: as the derknessis therof, so and the liȝt therof.

For thou haddist in possessioun my reynes: thou tokest me up fro the wombe of my modir.

I shal knowleche to thee, for thou art magnyfied

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[43] *Semitam meam et funiculum meum investigasti.*

[44] *Confortata est, et non potero ad eam.* "It is wrought so that I can nat attayne unto it." 1538, &c.

[45] *Conculcabunt me.* "Shall treade me underfete." 1538.

dredefulli : thi werkis ben wondirful, and my soule shal knowe ful moche.

My boon whiche thou madist in priuyte, is not hid fro thee : and my substaunce in the lowere partis of erthe.

Thin yȝen siȝen myn unparfiit thing, and alle men shulen be writun in thi book : daies shulen be fourmed, and no man is in tho.

Forsothe, god, thi frendis ben maad honourable ful moche to me : the princehed of hem is counfortide ful moche.

I shal noumbre hem and thei shulen ben multiplied aboue grauel : I ros up and yit I am with thee.

For thou, god, shalt slee synneris : ye menquelleris bowe awei fro me.

For ye seyn in thouȝt : take thei her citees in vanyte.

Lord, where I hatide not hem that hatiden thee : and I failide on thin enemyes.

Bi parfiit hatrede I hatide hem : thei weren maad enemyes to me.

God, preue thou me and knowe thou myn herte : axe thou me and knowe thou my pathis.

And se thou if the weie of wickidnesse is in me : and lede thou me forth in euerlastinge liif.

Vers. Lord, ȝyue hem endles reste.
Resp. And perpetuel liȝt shyne to hem.
Vers. Fro the ȝatis of helle.
Resp. Lord, delyuere the soulis of hem.
Vers. I bileeue to se goodis of the lord.
Resp. In the lond of lyueris.
Vers. Reste thei in pees.
Resp. So be it.

Oracio. Tibi domine commendamus.

TO thee, lord, we bitaken the soulis of thi seruauntis bothe men and wymmen, so that thei ben deed to the world, moun lyue to thee: and alle the synnes that thei han do bi freelte of worldly lyuyng, thou, lord, waishe hem awei bi the forȝyuenesse of thi moost merciful pitee. Bi crist oure lord. So be it[46].

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[46] Many editions add here, "*Requiescant in pace, Amen.* God haue mercy on all crysten soules. so be it."

There is considerable variety in the horæ and prymers at the conclusion of this office. Some editions, with our present text, end here: with which agree the two enchiridions. Others add one or more prayers to be said as occasion might require, or devotion might suggest. These either have a mere rubric thus; "¶ A prayer to God for them that be departed, hauyng none to praye for them:" *Prymer*, 1538; or, a recommendation of this sort; "¶ Pius the ij. pope of rome hath graunted to all them that say thys prayer folowinge for the saluacion of al christen soules, totiens quotiens a hondreth dàis ðf pardon. And also Johannes the iiij. pope hath graunted many dais of pardon as ther bodyes of christen people beryed." *Horæ*, 1531.

I shall extract the prayer attached to the first of these rubrics, for those "having none to pray for them." "*Miserere quæsumus Domine Deus*. Haue mercy (we beseche the lorde god) thorough the precyous passyon of thy onely begotten sonne our lorde Jesu Christe, haue mercy on those soules that haue no intercessours unto the to haue them in remembraunce, whiche haue neyther hope nor comforte in theyr tormentes, but onely for that they be formyd after thy ymage and likenes, and insigned with the sygne of faythe, which eyther by neglygence of them that be lyuynge, or longe processe of tyme, are forgotten of theyr frendes and posteryte. Spare them, lorde, and defende thy creacyon, neyther despyse thoǔ the worke of thyne handes, but extende thy ryght hande on them, and delyuer them frome the dures of theyr paynes, and bryng them into the company of the celestyall cytezens, thorough thy excedyng greate mercyes, whiche are most ex-

Here bygynneth the pater noster.[47]

OURE fadir, that art in heuenes, halewid be thi name: thy rewme come to thee: be thi wille do as in heuene and in erthe: oure eche daies breed ȝyue us to day: and forȝyue us

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cellent aboue all thy workes. Whiche lyuest and reygnest, God, worlde without ende. So be it."

I do not remember to have seen the following translated, which I now cite from the horæ of 1531; they occur in other editions:—

"¶ *Whan ye entre in to the church yarde say thys prayer.* Salvete vos omnes fideles animæ, quarum corpora hic et ubique requiescunt in pulvere: Dominus noster Jesus Christus, qui vos et nos redemit suo pretiosissimo sanguine, dignetur vos a pœnis liberare: et cœtui angelorum aggregare ibique nostri memores pro nobis suppliciter exorare: ut et vobis associemur, et in cælis vobiscum coronemur. Amen.

"¶ *Whanne ye goe oute of the churchyarde say thys prayer.* Valete vos omnes fideles animæ, quæ jacetis in gremio terræ: longe lateque benedicat vos sol justitiæ, et claritate sui luminis vos perfrui faciat sine fine. Amen.

"Oremus.

"Respice, quæsumus, omnipotens Deus, super animas famulorum famularumque tuarum et omnium fidelium defunctorum, et omnium Christianorum, pro quibus salvandis nudus et expansis manibus in cruce pependisti: et quinque vulnera pertulisti: et amaram mortem subire voluisti. Qui vivis et regnas Deus. Per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

"Pater. Ave. Credo."

Compare with the above the old custom recorded of the monks of Durham: and, without doubt, not a singular one in that age. "Also the mounkes was accustomed every daie, to goe thorowgh the cloister, in at the usher's door, and so thorowgh the entrie, in under the prior's lodginge, and streight into the scentorie garth, wher all the monnks was buried, and thei did all bair-heade, a certain longe space, praieng amongs the toumbes and throwghes for there brethren soules being buryed there, and, when they had done there prayers, then they did returne to the cloyster." *Rites of Durham abbey*, p. 74.

This is already a long note: but I must add a paragraph from the concluding section of the *Necessary doctrine and erudition:* I quote from the edition by Berthelet, 1543, 4to:—

oure dettis, as and we forȝeuen to oure dettouris: and ne lede us into temptacioun: but delyuere us fro yuel. So be it.

Aue maria.

HEIL, marie, ful of grace, the lord is with thee, thou art blessid among wymmen: and the blessid fruyt of thi wombe, iesus. So be it.

"¶ And here is specially to be noted, that it is not in the power or knowlege of any man, to limitte and dispence, howe mõche and in what space of time, or to what person particularly the saide—— suffrages do profitte and auayle: Therfore charitie requireth, that who so euer causeth any such —— to be done, shulde yet, (though their intent be more for one then for the other) cause them also to be done for the universall congregation of chrysten people quicke and deade, for that power and knowlege afore rehersed perteyneth onely vnto god, whiche alone knoweth the measures and tymes of his owne iudgement and mercies."

This entire section should be consulted by the student: and the concluding one (which corresponds with it) of the earlier treatise put forth in the same reign, *The Institution of a Christen man*, "The article of purgatorie." I believe both these are reprinted in a volume published under the title of *Formularies of Faith*.

We find frequent examples in ancient wills of the practical extent to which this charitable principle was extended. People not only left money that themselves might obtain the benefit of the Church's prayers; not only even that their own immediate kindred should be included: but, all the faithful. Take two examples from the *Wills and inventories*, published by the Surtees society. "Item do et lego——ad celebrandum pro anima mea et animabus omnium fidelium defunctorum per unum annum, iiijl." P. 50. "Item do et lego presbiteris divina celebraturis pro anima mea et anima Aliciæ uxoris meæ, et pro animabus liberorum nostrorum, et omnium fidelium defunctorum, ccl." P. 59. A.D. 1410 and 1416.

[47] I have placed in the appendix several other early translations of the *Pater noster* and creed, after the calendars and versions of the *Te Deum*, etc.

Credo in.

I BILEUE in god, fadir almyȝti, makere of heuene and of erthe: and in iesu crist the sone of him, oure lord, oon aloone: which is conceyued of the hooli gost: born of marie maiden: suffride passioun undir pounce pilat: crucified, deed, and biried: he wente doun to hellis: the thridde day he roos aȝen fro deede: he steiȝ to heuenes: he sittith on the riȝt syde of god the fadir almyȝti: thenus he is to come for to deme the quyke and deede. I bileue in the hooli goost: feith of hooli chirche: comunynge of seyntis: forȝyuenesse of synnes: aȝenrisyng of fleish, and euerlastynge lyf. so be it.

Thes ben the ten comaundementis of god.

THE firste comaundement of god is this. The lord spake alle thes wordis. I am lord, thi god, that ladde the out of the lond of egipt, fro the hous of seruage: thou shalt not haue alien goddis bifore me. Thou shalt not make to the a grauun ymage: nethir ony licnesse of thing that is in heuene aboue, and which is in erthe bynethe: nethir of tho thingis that ben in watris undir erdir erthe: thou shalt not herie tho: nethir thou shalt worship: for I am thi lord god, a stronge gelous louyer: I visite the wickidnesse of fadris in sones, in to the thridde and fourthe generacioun of hem that haten me: and I do merci into a thousand, to hem that louen me and kepen myn heestis.

The secounde comaundement is: thou shalt not take in veyn the name of thi lord god: for the lord

shal not haue him gilteles that takith in veyn the name of his lord god.

The thridde comaundement is: Haue thou mynde that thou halewe the dai of the sabat. In sixe daies thou shalt worche and shalt do alle thi werkis: forsothe in the seuenthe day of the sabat of thi lord god, thou shalt not do ony seruyle werk: thou, and thi sone, and thi douȝtir, and thi seruaunt, and thi handmaide, thi werk beest, and the comeling which is withinne thi ȝatis: for in sixe daies god made heuene and erthe: the see and alle thingis that ben in tho: and restide in the seuenthe day: therfore the lord blesside the day of the sabat, and halewide it.

The fourthe comaundement is: Honoure thi fadir and thi modir, that thou be longe lyuynge on the lond which thi lord god shal ȝyue to thee.

The fifthe comaundement is: thou shalt not sle.

The sexte is: thou shalt do no leccherie.

The seuenthe is: thou shalt do no thefte.

The eiȝthe is: thou shalt not speke fals witnesse aȝens thi neiȝebore.

The nynthe and tenthe comaundementis ben these: thou shalt not coueite the hous of thi neiȝebore. Nethir thou shalt desire his wiif, not seruaunt, not handmaide, not oxe, not asse: nethir alle thingis that ben hise.

These ben the seuene deedly synnes.

PRIDE. Envie. Wrathe. Couetise. Slouthe. Glotenye. and Leccherie.

The end of the Prymer.

Appendix to the Prymer.

THREE CALENDARS OF THE USE OF SARUM.

THE following calendars are taken, the two English from MSS. in the Bodleian library, viz. *Bodley* 85 and *Douce* 275, and the Latin from the *Enchiridion ad usum Sarum*, 8vo. Paris, 1530, in my possession [1846; now in the British museum].

They will be found, I hope, not only curious and interesting but valuable in many respects. They will sufficiently explain themselves, and it seems scarcely necessary to give variations of the Latin calendar from other horæ and prymers. The English calendars are, I believe, by at least a century earlier than any that have yet been printed. The Latin has been taken from an enchiridion (i.e. horæ) rather than from a Sarum breviary or missal, on account of its greater fulness: these latter seldom noting any day, except those for which they contain the proper offices.

The reader will observe an entry in the Bodley MS. 85 for the sixth of May, "Seint Jon at brason ȝate." A very learned friend has observed how "curious a mistranslation this is of Porta Latina. Latten is a soft mixed metal well known in the middle ages."

I have added two of the months from a metrical version attributed to Lydgate, which is in the Harleian MS. 1706. As a mere specimen two out of the twelve seem to be sufficient. I am not quite

certain whether this calendar has been printed, because I have an indistinct remembrance of having seen an edition of the horæ by Wynkyn de Worde, in which a metrical calendar occurs. Each line has the day of the month prefixed. The manuscript has as a title, "A Kalandre in englysh made in balade by daun John Lydgate."

Except one entry, that upon December 16th in the Latin calendar, no remark seems to be required. But "O Sapientia," which is still retained in the calendar of the Common prayer book, has been a difficulty to some. "O Sapientia" are simply the first two words of the first of seven anthems which were to be sung before the Magnificat at vespers, from the sixteenth of December to Christmas eve. The whole antiphon is:—

"O Sapientia quæ ex ore altissimi prodisti, attingens a fine usque ad finem, fortiter suaviterque disponens omnia; veni ad docendum nos viam prudentis."

Bodley MS. 85.

iii	*Kl.*		*Newe ȝerus day.*	*Januar.*
	b	*iiii*	viii day of Seint Steuene.	
xi	c	*iii*	viii day of Seint Jon.	
	d	*ii*	viii dai of Innocens.	
xix	e		viii day of Seint Thomas.	
viii	f	*viii*	*Twelthe day.*	
	g	*vii*		
xvi	*A*	*vi*		
v	b	*v*		
	c	*iiii*		
	d	*iii*		
xiii	e	*ii*		
ii	f		Seint Hyllari.	
x	g	*xix*		*Februar.*
	A	*xviii*	Seint Maure abbot.	
xviii	b	*xvii*	Seint Marcell.	
vii	c	*xvi*	Seint Supplis bischop.	
	d	*xv*	Seint Prisce virgine.	
xv	e	*xiiii*	Seint Wolston bischop.	
iiii	f	*xiii*	*S. Fabian. Seint Bastian.*	
	g	*xii*	Seint Anneys Maiden.	
xii	*A*	*xi*	*Seint Vincent martir.*	
i	b	*x*		
	c	*ix*		
ix	d	*viii*	*Converting of Seint Poule.*	
	e	*vii*		
xvii	f	*vi*	Seint Julian bischop.	
vi	g	*v*	Seint Anneys secunde.	
	A	*iiii*		
xiiii	b	*iii*	Seint Batilde quene.	
iii	c	*ii*		

Douce MS. 275.

iii.	*A*	*Kl.*		*Janever. Newe ȝeeris day.*
	b	*iiii.*	*N.*	Utas of S. Steven.
xi.	c	*iii.*	N.	Utas of S. John Evangelist.
	d	*ii.*	*N.*	Utas of S. Childre masse dai.
xix.	e	nonas.		
viii.	f	*viii.*	*Idus.*	*Twelfthe day.*
	g	*vii.*	*Idus.*	
xvi.	*A*	*vi.*	Idus.	
v.	b	*v.*	Idus.	
	c	*iiii.*	Idus.	
xiii.	d	*iii.*	Idus.	
ii.	e	*ii.*	*Idus.*	
	f	Idus.		Utas of Twelfthe dai. S. Illari bischop.
x.	g	*xix.*	*Kl.*	*Kalendis of Feverer.*
	A	*xviii.*	*Kl.*	S. Mauri Abbot.
xviii.	b	*xvii.*	*Kl.*	S. Marcel. pope and martir.
vii.	c	*xvi.*	Kl.	S. Antony.
	d	*xv.*	Kl.	S. Prisse mayden.
xv.	e	*xiiii.*	*Kl.*	S. Wulston bischop.
iiii.	f	*xiii.*	*Kl.*	S. FFabian and Sebastian martirs.
	g	*xii.*	*Kl.*	S. Agneys virgyn and martir.
xii.	*A*	*xi.*	Kl.	S. Vincent martir.
i.	b	*x.*	Kl.	
	c	*ix.*	Kl.	
ix.	d	*viii.*	*Kl.*	Conversioun of Seynt Poul.
	e	*vii.*	*Kl.*	
xvii.	f	*vi.*	*Kl.*	S. Julian bischop and confessor.
vi.	g	*v.*	Kl.	S. Agneis secunde.
	A	*iiii.*	Kl.	
xiiii.	b	*iii.*	Kl.	S. Basildis quene.
iii.	c	*ii.*	Kl.	S. Ignaci bischop and martir.

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	d	*Kl.*	Seint Bride virgin.	*Februar.*
xi	e	*iiii*	*candelmas day.*	
xix	f	*iii*	Seint Blase.	
viii	g	*ii*		
	A		*Seint Agas virgin.*	
xvi	b	*viii*	Seint Vedast and Amande.	
v	c	*vii*		
	d	*vi*		
xiii	e	*v*	*Nyȝthe hath xiiii houres. day x.*	
ii	f	*iiii*	Seint Scolast virgin.	
	g	*iii*		
x	*A*	*ii*		
	b			
xviii	c	*xvi*	*Seint Valentine.*	
vii	d	*xv*		
	e	*xiiii*	Seint Julian virgin.	
xv	f	*xiii*		
iiii	g	*xii*		
	A	*xi*		
xii	b	*x*		
i	c	*ix*		
	d	*viii*	*Seint Peter in chayar.*	
ix	e	*vii*		
	f	*vi*	*Seint Mathie apostul.*	
xvii	g	*v*		
vi	*A*	*iiii*	*Acounte x daies aftur the furste*	
	b	*iii*		
xiiii	c	*ii*		

Acounte x daies aftur the furste prime aftur the xii dai and in the sonday next alleluia shal be closed. Aftur secunde prime acounte ii daies and the nexte sondai shal be lenten. Aftur the thride acounte xiiii daies and the next sondai shal be Ester dai. Aftur the veorthe prime acounte xx daies and in the mondai next shal be the rogacions. Aftur the vithe prime acounte iiii daies and in the next sondai shal be pentecoste.

	d	*Kl.*		*FFeverer*. S. Brigide mayden.	Douce MS. 275.
xi.	e	*iiii.*	*n.*	*Candilmasse day.*	
xix.	f	*iii*	n.	S. Blays bischop and martir.	
viii.	g	*ii.*	*n.*		
	A	nonas	n.		
xvi.	b	*viii.*	*Idus*	S. Vedast and Amandi bi-	
v.	c	*vii.*	*Idus*	[schopes.	
	d	*vi.*	Idus		
xiii.	e	*v.*	Idus		
ii.	f	*iiii.*	*Idus*	S. Scolaste mayden.	
	g	*iii.*	*Idus*		
x.	*A.*	*ii.*	*Idus*		
	b	Idus		[lenteyn.	
xviii.	c	*xvi.*	*Kl.*	*Kalendis of March.* S. Va-	
vii.	d	*xv.*	*Kl.*		
	e	*xiiii.*	*Kl.*	S. Jilian mayden.	
xv.	f	*xiii.*	*Kl.*		
iiii.	g	*xii.*	Kl.		
	A.	*xi.*	Kl.		
xii.	b	*x.*	Kl.		
i.	c	*ix.*	*Kl.*		
	d	*viii.*	*Kl.*	Charyng of S. Petre.	
ix.	e	*vii.*	*Kl.*	*Vigile.*	
	f	*vi.*	*Kl.*	*Seint Mathi apostle.*	
xvii.	g	*v.*	Kl.		
vi.	*A.*	*iiii.*	Kl.		
	b	*iii.*	*Kl.*		
xiiii.	c	*ii.*	*Kl.*		

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iii	d		*Kl.*	*Marche.*
	e	*vi*	*N*	
xi	f	*v*	*N*	
	g	*iiii*	*N*	
xix	*A*	*iii*	*N*	
viii	b	*ii*	*N*	
	c		*N*	
xvi	d	*viii*	*Id.*	
v	e	*vii*	*Id*	
	f	*vi*	*Id*	
xiii	g	*v*	*Id*	*Nyȝthe hath xii houres dai xii.*
ii	*A*	*iiii*	*Id*	*Seint Gregori.*
	b	*iii*	*Id*	
iii	c	*ii*	*Id*	
xviii	d		*Idus*	
	e	*xvii*	*K.*	*April.*
vii	f	*xvi*	*K*	
	g	*xiiii*	*K*	*Seint Edward kyng martir.*
xv	*A*	*xv*	*K*	
iiii	b	*xiii*	*K*	Seint Cuthberd.
	c	*xii*	*K*	Seint Benet.
xii	d	*xi*	*K*	
i	e	*x*	*K*	
	f	*ix*	*K.*	*Salutacion of oure ladi.*
ix	g	*viii*	*K.*	
	A	*vii*	*K*	*The up rising of oure Lord.*
xvii	b	*vi*	*K*	
vi	c	*v*	*K*	
	d	*iiii*	*K*	
xiiii	e	*iii*	*K*	
iii	f	*ii*	*K.*	

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iii.	d	*Kl.*		*March.*
	e	*vi.*	*n.*	
xi.	f	*v.*	n.	
	g	*iiii.*	*n.*	
xix.	*A.*	*iii.*	n.	
viii.	b	*ii.*	*n.*	
	c	Nonas		S. Perpetue and Felice
xvi.	d	*viii.*	*Idus.*	[maydes.
v.	e	*vii.*	*Idus.*	
	f	*vi.*	Idus.	
xiii.	g	*v.*	Idus.	
ii.	*A.*	*iiii.*	*Idus.*	S. Gregori.
	b	*iii.*	*Idus.*	
x.	c	*ii.*	*Idus.*	
	d	Idus.		
xviii.	e	*xvii.*	*Kl.*	*Kalendis of Averil.*
vii.	f	*xvi.*	*Kl.*	[sour.
	g	*xv.*	*Kl.*	S. Edward kyng and confes-
xv.	*A.*	*xiiii.*	Kl.	[fessour.
iiii.	b	*xiii.*	Kl.	S. Cuthbert bischop and con-
	c	*xii.*	*Kl.*	S. Benet Abbot and confes-
xii.	d	*xi.*	*Kl.*	[sour.
i.	e	*x.*	*Kl.*	
	f	*ix.*	Kl.	
ix.	g	*viii.*	Kl.	*Gretinge of oure lady.*
	A.	*vii.*	*Kl.*	
xvii.	b	*vi.*	*Kl.*	*Aȝenrysing of oure Lord.*
vi.	c	*v.*	*Kl.*	
	d	*iiii.*	Kl.	
xiiii.	e	*iii.*	Kl.	
iii.	f	*ii.*	Kl.	

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				April.
	g	*Kl*		
xi	*A*	*iiii*	*N*	
	b	*iii*	*N*	
xix	c	*ii*	*N*	Seint Ambrose.
viii	d		*N*	
xvi	e	*viii*	*Id*	
v	f	*vii*	*Id*	
	g	*vi*	*Id*	
xiii	*A*	*v*	*Id*	
ii	b	*iiii*	*Id*	*Nyȝthe hath x houres day xiiii.*
	c	*iii*	*Id*	
x	d	*ii*	*Id*	
	e	*Idus*		
xviii	f	*xviii*	*K*	Seint Tiburs and Valerian.
vii	g	*xvii*	*K*	
	A	*xvi*	*K*	
xv	b	*xv*	*K*	
iiii	c	*xiiii*	*K*	
	d	*xiii*	*K*	Seint Alfege.
xii	e	*xii*	*K*	
i	f	*xi*	*K*	
ix	g	*x*	*K*	
	A	*ix*	*K*	*Seint Jeorge martir.*
	b	*viii*	*K*	
xvii	c	*vii*	*K*	*Seint Marc ewangelist.*
vi	d	*vi*	*K*	
	e	*v*	*K*	
xiiii	f	*iiii*	*K*	Seint Vital.
iii	g	*iii*	*K*	
	A	*ii*	*K*	

	g	*Kl.*		*Averil.*
xi.	*A*	*iiii.*	n	S. Marie Egipcian. Douce MS. 275.
	b	*iii.*	*n.*	S. Richard bischop and Conf.
xix.	c	*ii.*	n	S. Ambrose bischop and Conf.
viii.	d	Nonas.		
xvi.	e	*viii.*	*Idus*	
v.	f	*vii.*	*Idus*	
	g	*vi.*	*Idus*	
xiii.	*A.*	*v.*	Idus.	
ii.	b	*iiii.*	Idus.	
	c	*iii.*	Idus.	
x.	d	*ii.*	Idus.	
	e	Idus		S. Eufemye mayden.
xviii.	f	*xviii.*	*Kl.*	*Kalendis of May.* S. Tiburs
vii.	g	*xvii.*	*Kl.*	[and Valerian.
	A.	*xvi.*	*Kl.*	
xv.	b	*xv.*	*Kl.*	
iiii.	c	*xiiii.*	Kl.	
	d	*xiii.*	Kl.	S. Alphege bischop and mar-
xii.	e	*xii.*	*Kl.*	[tir.
i.	f	*xi.*	*Kl.*	
	g	*x.*	*Kl.*	
ix.	*A*	*ix.*	Kl.	S. George martir.
	b	*viii.*	Kl.	S. Wilfride archebischop.
xvii.	c	*vii*	Kl.	*Seint Mark evangelist.*
vi.	d	*vi.*	*Kl.*	S. Clete pope and martir.
	e	*v.*	*Kl.*	
xiiii.	f	*iiii.*	*Kl.*	S. Vitale martir.
iii.	g	*iii.*	Kl.	
	A.	*ii.*	Kl.	

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		Kl.		
xi	b		*N*	*The day of Phelip and Jacob. May.*
	c	*vi*	*N*	
xix	d	*v*	*N*	*The vyndyng of the holi crois.*
viii	e	*iiii*	*N*	
	f	*iii*	*N*	
xvi	g	*ii*	*N*	*Seint Jon at brason ȝate.*
v	*A*		*N*	
	b	*viii*	*Id*	
xiii	c	*vii*	*Id*	
ii	d	*vi*	*Id*	Seint Gordian and Epimache.
	e	*v*	*Id*	
x	f	*iiii*	*Id*	Seint Nere Achille and Pancrace.
	g	*iii*	*Id*	
xviii	*A*	*ii*	*Id*	
vii	b	*Idus.*		
	c	*xvii*	*K*	
xv	d	*xvi*	*K*	
iiii	e	*xv*	*K*	
	f	*xiiii*	*K*	*Seint Dunstan.*
xii	g	*xiii*	*K*	
i	*A*	*xii*	*K*	
	b	*xi*	*K*	
ix	c	*x*	*K*	
	d	*ix*	*K*	
xvii	e	*viii*	*K*	*S. Aldelme.* *S.* Urban.
vi	f	*vii*	*K*	*S. Austin Erchebisop.*
	g	*vi*	*K*	
xiiii	*A*	*v*	*K*	Seint Germayne.
iii	b	*iiii*	*K*	
	c	*iii*	*K*	
xi	d	*ii*	*K*	Seint Pernel.

xi.	b	*Kl.*		*May. Philip and Jacob, a-*	Douce MS. 275.
	c	*vi.*	*n.*	[*postlis.*	
xix.	d	*v.*	n	*The fynding of the crosse.*	
viii.	e	*iiii.*	*n.*		
	f	*iii.*	n		
xvi.	g	*ii.*	*n.*	S. John portlatyn.	
v.	*A.*	Nonas.			
	b	*viii.*	*Idus*		
xiii.	c	*vii.*	*Idus*	Translacioun of S. Andrew.	
ii.	d	*vi.*	*Idus*	S. Gordian and Epymache.	
	e	*v.*	Idus.		
x.	f	*iiii.*	Idus.	S. Neri Achillei and Pancras.	
	g	*iii.*	Idus.		
xviii.	*A*	*ii.*	Idus.		
vii.	b	Idus			
	c	*xvii.*	*Kl.*	*Kalendis of Juyn.*	
xv.	d	*xvi.*	*Kl.*		
iiii.	e	*xv.*	*Kl.*		
	f	*xiiii.*	*Kl.*	S. Dunston bischop and con-	
xii.	g	*xiii.*	Kl.	[fessour.	
i.	*A.*	*xii.*	Kl.		
	b	*xi.*	Kl.		
ix.	c	*x.*	*Kl.*		
	d	*ix.*	*Kl.*		
xvii.	e	*viii.*	*Kl.*		
vi.	f	*vii.*	Kl.	S. Urban and Andelm bi-	
	g	*vi.*	Kl.	[schops.	
xiiii.	*A*	*v.*	Kl.	S. German bischop and conf.	
iii.	b	*iiii.*	*Kl.*		
	c	*iii.*	*Kl.*		
xi.	d	*ii.*	*Kl.*	S. Purnel virgyn.	

Bodley MS. 85.

	e		*Kl.*	Seint Nicome martir. *Junn.*
xix	f	*iiii*	*N*	Seint Marcelyn and Peter.
viii	g	*iii*	*N*	
xvi	*A*	*ii*	*N*	
v	b		*N*	Seint Boneface.
	c	*viii*	*N*	
xiiii	d	*vii*	*N*	
ii	e	*vi*	*N*	Seint Medar and Gildard.
	f	*N*		Seint Prime and Felician.
x	g	*v*	*Id*	
	A	*iiii*	*Id*	*Seint Barnabe apostol.*
xviii	b	*iii*	*Id*	
vii	c	*ii*	*Id*	*Nyȝthe hath vi houres dai xviii.*
	d	*xviii*	*Kl*	
xv	e	*xvii*	*Kl*	Seint Vite and Cresence.
iiii	f	*xvi*	*Kl*	Seint Cyriak and Julite.
	g	*xv*	*Kl*	Seint Botulf.
xii	*A*	*xiiii*	*Kl*	Seint Marc and Marcelion.
i	b	*xiii*	*Kl*	Seint Gervase and Proface.
	c	*xii*	*Kl*	*Tranlacion of Seint Edward.*
ix	d	*xi*	*Kl*	
	e	*x*	*Kl*	*Seint Albon.*
xvii	f	*ix*	*Kl*	Seint Etheldrede.
vi	g	*viii*	*Kl*	*Nativite of Seint Jon Bapt.*
	A	*vii*	*Kl*	
xiiii	b	*vi*	*Kl*	Seint Jon and Poule.
iii	c	*v*	*·Kl*	
	d	*iiii*	*Kl*	Seint Leon Pope.
xi	e	*iii*	*Kl*	*Seint Petur and Poule.*
	f	*ii*	*Kl*	*Comemoracion of Seint Poule.*

	e	*Kl.*		*Juyn.* S. Nicomede martir.
xix.	f	*iiii.*	n	S. Marcellyn and Petre.
viii.	g	*iii.*	*n*	
xvi.	*A*	*ii.*	n	S. Petroci confessour.
v.	b	Nonas.		S. Bonefaci bischop.
	c	*viii.*	*Idus.*	[shop.
xii.	d	*vii.*	*Idus.*	Translacion of S. Wolston bi-
ii.	e	*vi.*	*Idus.*	S. Medard and Gildard bischops.
	f	*v.*	*Idus.*	Translacioun of S. Edmund
x.	g	*iiii.*	Idus.	[Archeb.
	A	*iii.*	Idus.	S. Barnabe apostle.
xviii.	b	*ii.*	Idus.	S. Basilidis, Cirini, and Nabor,
vii.	c	Idus.		[martirs.
	d	*xviii.*	*Kl.*	*July.* S. Basili bischop and conf.
xv.	e	*xvii.*	*Kl.*	S. Viti and Modesti martirs.
iiii.	f	*xvi.*	*Kl.*	S. Cirici.
	g	*xv.*	*Kl.*	S. Botulphi abbot.
xii.	*A*	*xiiii.*	Kl.	S. Marci and Marcellian.
i.	b	*xiii.*	Kl.	S. Gervasi and Prothasi.
	c	*xii.*	Kl.	Translacioun of S. Edward
x.	d	*xi.*	Kl.	[kyng.
	e	*x.*	*Kl.*	S. Alban martir. [tir. *Vigil.*
xvii.	f	*ix.*	*Kl.*	S. Etheldride virgyn and mar-
vi.	g	*viii.*	*Kl.*	*Nativite of S. John Baptist.*
	A	*vii.*	Kl.	
xiiii.	b	*vi.*	Kl.	S. John and Poul.
iii.	c	*v.*	Kl.	[*Vigil.*
	d	*iiii.*	*Kl.*	S. Leo pope and confessour.
xi.	e	*iii.*	*Kl.*	*S. Petre and Poul.*
	f	*ii.*	*Kl.*	Commemoracioun of S. Poul.

Douce MS. 275.

Bodley MS. 85.

xix	g	*Kl.*		viii day of Seint Jon.	*Julii*
viii	*A*	*vi*	*N*	Seint Proces and Martinian.	
	b	*v*	*N*		
xvi	c	*iiii*	*N*	*Translacion of Seint Martin.*	
v	d	*iii*	*N*		
	e	*ii*	*N*	viii day of Apostolus.	
xiii	f	*N*		*Translacion of Seint Thomas.*	
ii	g	*viii*	*Id*	*Nyȝthe hath viii houres dai xvi.*	
	A	*vii*	*Id*		
x	b	*vi*	*Id*		
	c	*v*	*Id*		
xviii	d	*iiii*	*Id*		
vii	e	*iii*	*Id*		
	f	*ii*	*Id*		
xv	g	*Idus*		*Translacion of Swithan.*	
iiii	*A*	*xvii*	*Kl.*		
	b	*xvi*	*Kl.*	Seint Kenelme.	
xii	c	*xv*	*Kl.*	Seint Arnulde.	
i	d	*xiiii*	*Kl.*		
	e	*xiii*	*Kl.*	*Seint Marget.*	
ix	f	*xii*	*Kl.*		
	g	*xi*	*Kl.*	*Seint Marie Maudeleyn.*	
vii	*A*	*x*	*Kl.*	Seint Appolinar.	
vi	b	*ix*	*Kl.*	Seint Cristine.	
	c	*viii*	*Kl.*	*Seint James.*	
xiiii	d	*vii*	*Kl.*		
iii	e	*vi*	*Kl.*	Seuene Slepares.	
	f	*v*	*Kl.*	Seint Sampson.	
xi	g	*iiii*	*Kl.*	Seint FFelis, Simplis, FFaustin.	
xix	*A*	*iii*	*Kl.*	Seint Abdon and Sennen.	
	b	*ii*	*Kl.*	Seint Gernais.	

Douce MS. 275.

xix.	g	*Kl.*	*Julius.* Utas of S. John baptist.
viii.	*A vi.*	n.	S. Swithune, Processe, and Mar-
	b *v.*	*n.*	[tinian.
xvi.	c *iiii.*	n.	Translacioun of S. Martyn.
v.	d *iii.*	*n.*	
	e *ii.*	n.	Utas of S. Petre and Poul.
xiii.	f	Nonas.	(*Translacioun of S. Thomas, mar-*
ii.	g *viii.*	*Idus.*	[*tir*[1].)
	A vii.	*Idus.*	
x.	b *vi.*	*Idus.*	FFeste of sevene bretheren.
	c *v.*	*Idus.*	Translacioun of S. Benet abbot.
xviii.	d *iiii.*	Idus.	
vii.	e *iii.*	Idus.	
	f *ii.*	Idus.	S. Medeldride maide and martir.
xv.	g	Idus	
iiii.	*A xvii.*	*Kl.*	*August.*
	b *xvi.*	*Kl.*	S. Kenhelm kyng.
xii.	c *xv.*	*Kl.*	S. Arnulph kyng.
i.	d *xiiii.*	Kl.	
	e *xiii.*	Kl.	S. Margarete virgyn and martir.
ix.	f *xii.*	Kl.	S. Praxede virgyn.
	g *xi.*	*Kl.*	*S. Marie Mawdeleyn.*
xvii.	*A x.*	*Kl.*	S. Appollinar martir.
vi.	b *ix.*	*Kl.*	S. Cristine virgin and martir. *Vigil.*
	c *viii.*	*Kl.*	*S. James Apostle.*
xiiii.	d *vii.*	Kl.	S. Anne modir of oure ladi.
iii.	e *vi.*	Kl.	FFeeste of sevene slepers.
	f *v.*	Kl.	S. Sampson.
xi.	g *iiii.*	*Kl.*	S. Felici, Simplici and Faustyn.
xix.	*A iii.*	*Kl.*	S. Abdon and Sennes.
	b *ii.*	*Kl.*	S. German bischop.

[1] Erased in original.

Bodley MS. 85.

viii	c	*Kl.*		*Seint Peter at Lamas. August.*
xvi	d	*iiii*	*n*	Seint Steuene.
v	e	*iii*	*n*	*The vindink of seint Steuene.*
	f	*ii*	*n*	
xiii	g	*N*		Seint Oswald.
ii	*A*	*viii*	*Id*	
	b	*vii*	*Id*	Seint Donate.
x	c	*vi*	*Id*	Seint Ciriak.
	d	*v*	*Id*	Seint Romain.
xviii	e	*iiii*	*Id*	*Seint Laurence.*
vii	f	*iii*	*Id*	Seint Tibrus.
	g	*ii*	*Id*	
xv	*A*	*Idus*		Seint Ipolit.
iiii	b	*xix*	*Kl*	Seint Eusebe.
	c	*xviii*	*Kl*	*Asumpcion of oure ladi.*
xii	d	*xvii*	*Kl*	
i	e	*xvi*	*Kl*	*Niȝthe hath x day xiiii houres.*
	f	*xv*	*Kl*	Seint Agap.
ix	g	*xiiii*	*Kl*	Seint Mangus.
	A	*xiii*	*Kl*	
xvii	b	*xii*	*Kl*	
vi	c	*xi*	*Kl*	
	d	*x*	*Kl*	
xiiii	e	*ix*	*Kl*	
iii	f	*viii*	*Kl*	
	g	*vii*	*Kl*	
xi	*A*	*vi*	*Kl*	Seint Ruff.
xix	b	*v*	*Kl*	*Seint Austin.*
	c	*iiii*	*Kl*	*Decolacion of Seint Jon Bap.*
viii	d	*iii*	*Kl*	Seint FFelis and Audacte.
	e	*ii*	*Kl*	Seint Cutburge virgin.

Douce MS. 275.

viii.	c	*Kl.*		*August. lammasse dai.*
xvi.	d	*iiii.*	n.	S. Steven pope and martir.
v.	e	*iii.*	*n.*	Invencioun of S. Steven.
	f	*ii.*	n.	
xiii.	g	nonas.		S. Oswold king and martir.
ii.	*A*	*viii.*	*Idus.*	S. Sixte Felisisme and Agapite.
	b	*vii.*	*Idus.*	S. Donat Bischop and martir.
x.	c	*vi.*	Idus.	S. Ciriaci with his felawes.
	d	*v.*	Idus.	S. Romayn martir.
xviii.	e	*iiii.*	*Idus.*	*Laurence martir.*
vii.	f	*iii.*	*Idus.*	S. Tiburce martir.
	g	*ii.*	*Idus*	
xv.	*A*	Idus.		S. Ypolite with his felowes.
iiii.	b	*xix.*	*Kl.*	*Kalendis of September. Vigil.*
	c	*xviii.*	*Kl.*	*Assumpcioun of oure Lady.*
xii.	d	*xvii.*	*Kl.*	S. Arnulph bischop and conf.
i.	e	*xvi.*	*Kl.*	Utas of S. Laurence.
	f	*xv.*	Kl.	S. Agapite martir.
ix.	g	*xiiii.*	Kl.	S. Magnus martir.
	A.	*xiii.*	Kl.	S. Philebert abbot and S. Bernard.
xvii.	b	*xii.*	Kl.	
vi.	c	*xi.*	*Kl.*	Utas of assumpcioun of oure lady.
	d	*x.*	*Kl.*	S. Timothee. *Vigil.*
xiiii.	e	*ix.*	*Kl.*	*Bartholomew Apostle.*
iii.	f	*viii.*	Kl.	S. Genesi martir.
	g	*vii.*	Kl.	
xi.	*A.*	*vi.*	Kl.	S. Ruphi martir.
xix.	b	*v.*	Kl.	S. Austyn bischop.
	c	*iiii.*	*Kl.*	
viii.	d	*iii.*	*Kl.*	S. Felici and Audacte.
	e	*ii.*	*Kl.*	S. Cuthburg virgyn.

Bodley MS. 85.

xvi	f		*Kl.*	Seint Gilis.	*September.*
v	g	*iiii*	*N*		
	A	*iii*	*N*		
xiii	b	*ii*	*N*		
ii	c		*N*	Seint Bertin.	
	d	*viii*	*Id*		
x	e	*vii*	*Id*		
	f	*vi*	*Id*	*Nativite of our ladi.*	
xviii	g	*v*	*Id*	Seint Gorgoin.	
vii	*A*	*iiii*	*Id*		
	b	*iii*	*Id*	Seint Prote and Jacint.	
xv	c	*ii*	*Id*		
iiii	d		*Idus*		
	e	*xviii*		*Exultacion of the crois.*	
xii	f	*xvii*			
i	g	*xvi*		Seint Edithe virgin.	
	A	*xv*		Seint Lambert.	
ix	b	*xiiii*			
	c	*xiii*			
xvii	d	*xii*			
vi	e	*xi*		*Seint Mathie apostl.*	
	f	*x*		Seint Maure.	
xiiii	g	*ix*		Seint Tecle.	
iii	*A*	*viii*			
	b	*vii*		Seint F Firmin.	
xi	c	*vi*		Seint Ciprian.	
xix	d	*v*		Seint Cosme and Damian.	
	e	*iiii*			
viii	f	*iii*		*Seint Michael argl.*	
	g	*ii*		Seint Jerom.	

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xvi.	f	*Kl.*		*Septembir.*
v.	g	*iiii.*	n.	
	A	*iii.*	*n.*	
xiii.	b	*ii.*	n.	Translacioun of S. Cuthbert.
ii.	c	Nonas		S. Bertyn abbot.
	d	*viii.*	*Idus*	
x.	e	*vii.*	*Idus*	
	f	*vi.*	*Idus*	*Nativite of oure Ladi.*
xviii.	g	*v.*	*Idus*	S. Gorgon martir.
vii.	*A*	*iiii.*	Idus	
	b	*iii.*	Idus	S. Prothi and Jacyncti martirs.
xv.	c	*ii.*	Idus	
iiii.	d	Idus.		
	e	*xviii.*	*Kl.*	*Reisyng of the cros.*
xii.	f	*xvii.*	*Kl.*	Utas of oure ladyes nativite.
i.	g	*xvi.*	*Kl.*	S. Edith virgyn.
	A	*xv.*	*Kl.*	S. Lambert martir and bischop.
ix.	b	*xiiii.*	Kl.	
	c	*xiii.*	Kl.	*Kalendis of Octobir.*
xvii.	d	*xii.*	Kl.	*Vigil.*
vi.	e	*xi.*	*Kl.*	*S. Matheu apostle.*
	f	*x.*	*Kl.*	S. Mauri and his felawes.
xiiii.	g	*ix.*	*Kl.*	S. Tecle virgyn.
iii.	*A*	*viii.*	*Kl.*	
	b	*vii.*	Kl.	S. Firmyn martir.
xi.	c	*vi.*	Kl.	S. Ciprian bischop.
xix.	d	*v.*	Kl.	S. Cosme and Damyan martirs.
	e	*iiii.*	*Kl.*	
viii.	f	*iii.*	*Kl.*	*S. Mi3hel archangel.*
	g	*ii.*	*Kl.*	S. Jerom preest.

Bodley MS. 85.

xvi	*A*	*Kl.*		*October.*
v	b	*vi*	*N*	Seint Leodogart.
xiii	c	*v*	*N*	
ii	d	*iiii*	*N*	
	e	*iii*	*N*	
x	f	*ii*	*N*	Seint FFide virgin.
	g	*N*		
xviii	*A*	*viii*	*Id*	
vii	b	*vii*	*Id*	Seint Denis.
	c	*vi*	*Id*	Seint Gereon.
xv	d	*v*	*Id*	
iiii	e	*iiii*	*Id*	*Niȝthe hath xiiii houres. dai x.*
	f	*iii*	*Id*	
xii	g	*ii*	*Id*	Seint Calixt.
i	*A*	*Idus*		Seint Wlfranus.
	b	*xvii*	*Kl*	
ix	c	*xvi*	*Kl*	
	d	*xv*	*Kl*	*Seint Luc Ewangel.*
xvii	e	*xiiii*	*Kl*	
vi	f	*xiii*	*Kl*	
	g	*xii*	*Kl*	xi thonsunt maidenes.
xiiii	*A*	*xi*	*Kl*	
iii	b	*x*	*Kl*	Seint Romain.
	c	*ix*	*Kl*	
xi	d	*viii*	*Kl*	Seint Crispin and Crispinian.
xix	e	*vii*	*Kl*	
	f	*vi*	*Kl*	
viii	g	*v*	*Kl*	*Seint Simon & Jude apostl.*
	A	*iiii*	*Kl*	
xvi	b	*iii*	*Kl*	
v	c	*ii*	*Kl*	Seint Quintin.

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xvi.	A	Kl.		*Octobir.* S. German.
v.	b	vi.	n.	S. Leodegar bischop and confes-
xiii.	c	v.	n.	[sour.
ii.	d	iiii.	n.	S. FFraunceis confessour.
	e	iii.	n.	
x.	f	ii.	n.	S. Feithe virgyn and martir.
	g	nonas.		S. Marci Marcellian and Epulei.
xviii.	A	viii.	Idus.	
vii.	b	vii.	Idus.	S. Denys and his felawes.
	c	vi.	Idus.	S. Gereon with his felawes.
xv.	d	v.	Idus.	S. Nichas with his felawes.
iiii.	e	iiii.	Idus.	[kyng.
	f	iii.	Idus.	Translacioun of seynt Edward
xii.	g	ii.	Idus.	[sour.
i.	A	Idus		S. Wolfran bischop and confes-
	b	xvii.	Kl.	S. Miȝhel in monte Tumba. *No-*
ix.	c	xvi.	Kl.	[*vembir.*
	d	xv.	Kl.	*S. Luk evangelist.*
xvii.	e	xiiii.	Kl.	
vi.	f	xiii.	Kl.	
	g	xii.	Kl.	FFeeste of enleven tousand vir-
xiiii.	A	xi.	Kl.	[gyns.
iii.	b	x.	Kl.	S. Romayn bischop and confes-
	c	ix.	Kl.	[sour.
xi.	d	viii.	Kl.	S. Crispyn and Crispinian.
xix.	e	vii.	Kl.	
	f	vi.	Kl.	*Vigil.*
viii.	g	v.	Kl.	*Symount and Jude.*
	A	iiii.	Kl.	
xvi.	b	iii.	Kl.	
v.	c	ii.	Kl.	S. Quintyn martir. *Vigile.*

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	d	*Kl.*		*Alle Seintis.*	*November.*
xiii	e	*iiii*	*N.*	*Alle Soullis.*	
ii	f	*iii*	*N*		
	g	*ii*	*N*		
x	*A*	*N*			
	b	*viii*	*Id*	Seint Leothenard.	
xviii	c	*vii*	*Id*		
vii	d	*vi*	*Id*		
	e	*v*	*Id*	*Niȝthe hath xvi dai viii.*	
xv	f	*iiii*	*Id*		
iiii	g	*iii*	*Id*	Seint Martine.	
	A	*ii*	*Id*		
xii	b	*Idus*		Seint Brisse.	
i	c	*xviii*	*Kl*		
	d	*xvii*	*Kl*	Seint Macute.	
ix	e	*xvi*	*Kl*	Seint Edmund Bishop.	
	f	*xv*	*Kl*	Seint Hew Bishop.	
xvii	g	*xiiii*	*Kl*		
vi	*A*	*xiii*	*Kl*		
	b	*xii*	*Kl*	*Seint Edmund King.*	
xiiii	c	*xi*	*Kl*		
iii	d	*x*	*Kl*	Seint Cecile.	
	e	*ix*	*Kl*	*Seint Clement.*	
xi	f	*viii*	*Kl*		
xix	g	*vii*	*Kl*	*Seint Katerin.*	
	A	*vi*	*Kl*	Seint Line.	
viii	b	*v*	*Kl*		
	c	*iiii*	*Kl*		
xvi	d	*iii*	*Kl*		
v	e	*ii*	*Kl*	*Seint Andreu.*	

	d	*Kl.*		*Alle Halwenday. Novembir.* Douce MS. 275.
xiii.	e	*iiii.*	*n.*	*Commemoracioun of alle soules.*
ii.	f	*iii.*	n.	
	g	*ii.*	*n.*	
x.	*A.*	Nonas		
	b	*viii.*	*Idus*	S. Leonard abbot and confessour.
xviii.	c	*vii.*	*Idus*	
vii.	d	*vi.*	*Idus*	FFeeste of foure crowned martirs.
	e	*v.*	Idus	
xv.	f	*iiii.*	Idus	
iiii.	g	*iii.*	*Idus.*	S. Martyn bischop and confessour.
	A	*ii.*	*Idus.*	
xii.	b	Idus		Brice bischop.
i.	c	*xviii.*	*Kl*	*Kalendis of December.*
	d	*xvii.*	*Kl*	
ix.	e	*xvi.*	*Kl*	S. Edmund archiebisshop.
	f	*xv.*	Kl.	
xvii.	g	*xiiii.*	Kl.	Utas of S. Martyn.
vi.	*A*	*xiii.*	Kl.	
	b	*xii.*	*Kl.*	S. Edmund kyng and martir.
xiiii.	c	*xi.*	*Kl.*	
iii.	d	*x.*	*Kl.*	S. Cecile virgyn and martir.
	e	*ix.*	Kl.	S. Clement pope.
xi.	f	*viii.*	Kl.	S. Grisogon martir.
xix.	g	*vii.*	Kl.	S. Katerine virgyn and martir.
	A.	*vi.*	*Kl.*	S. Lyne pope and martir.
viii.	b	*v.*	*Kl.*	
	c	*iiii.*	*Kl.*	
xvi.	d	*iii*	Kl.	*Vigile.*
v.	e	*ii.*	Kl.	*Passioun of seynt Andrew apostle.*

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	f	*Kl.*		*December.*
ii	g	*iiii*	*N*	
	A	*iii*	*N*	
x	b	*ii*	*N*	
	c	*N*		
xviii	d	*viii*	*Id*	*Seint Nicolas.*
vii	e	*vii*	*Id*	
	f	*vi*	*Id*	*Concepcion of oure ladi.*
xv	g	*v*	*Id*	
iiii	*A*	*iiii*	*Id*	*Nythe hath xviii day vi.*
	b	*iii*	*Id*	
xii	c	*ii*	*Id*	
i	d	*Idus*		Seint Lucie virgin & martir.
	e	*xix*	*K*	
ix	f	*xviii*	*K*	
	g	*xvii*	*K*	
xvii	*A*	*xvi*	*K*	
vi	b	*xv*	*K*	
	c	*xiiii*	*K*	
xiiii	d	*xiii*	*K*	
iii	e	*xii*	*K*	*Seint Thomas apostol.*
	f	*xi*	*K*	
xi	g	*x*	*K*	
xix	*A*	*ix*	*K*	
	b	*viii*	*K*	*Nativite of oure Lord.*
viii	c	*vii*	*K*	*Seint Steuene.*
	d	*vi*	*K*	*Seint Jon.*
xvi	e	*v*	*K*	*Holi Innocens.*
v	f	*iiii*	*K*	*Seint Thomas.*
	g	*iii*	*K*	
xiii	*A*	*ii*	*K*	*Seint Silvestre.*

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	f	*Kl.*		*December.*
xiii.	g	*iiii.*	*n.*	
	A	*iii.*	n	
x.	b	*ii.*	*n.*	
	c	Nonas.		
xviii.	d	*viii.*	*Idus.*	*S. Nicholas bischop and confes- [sour.*
viii.	e	*vii.*	*Idus.*	Utas of S. Andrew apostle.
	f	*vi.*	*Idus.*	*Concepcioun of oure ladi.*
xv.	g	*v.*	Idus.	
iiii.	*A.*	*iiii.*	Idus.	
	b	*iii.*	Idus.	
xii.	c	*ii.*	Idus.	
i.	d	Idus		S. Luce virgyn and martir.
	e	*xix.*	*Kl.*	*Kalendis of Janever.*
ix.	f	*xviii.*	*Kl.*	
	g	*xvii.*	*Kl.*	
xvii.	*A*	*xvi.*	Kl.	
vi.	b	*xv.*	Kl.	
	c	*xiiii.*	Kl.	
xiiii.	d	*xiii.*	*Kl.*	*Vigil.*
iii.	e	*xii.*	*Kl.*	*S. Thomas apostle.*
	f	*xi.*	*Kl.*	
xi.	g	*x.*	Kl.	
xix.	*A.*	*ix.*	Kl.	
	b	*viii.*	Kl.	*Nativite of oure Lord Jesus Crist.*
viii.	c	*vii.*	*Kl.*	*S. Stevene martir.*
	d	*vi.*	*Kl.*	*S. John Apostle and Evangelist.*
xvi.	e	*v.*	*Kl.*	*FFeeste of holi innocentis martirs.*
v.	f	*iiii.*	Kl.	*S. Thomas archebischop and mar- [tir*[a]*.*
	g	*iii.*	Kl.	
xiii.	*A*	*ii.*	Kl.	S. Silvester pope and confessour.

[a] Partly erased in original.

KL *Ianuarius habet dies xxxi. Luna xxx.*
Nox habet horas xvi. Dies viii.

iii	*A*	*Ianua*		*Circumcisio Domini.*	i
	b	iiii	No	Octava sancti Stephani.	ii
xi	c	iii	No	Octa. sancti Joannis.	iii
	d	ii	No	Octa. sanctorum Innocentium.	iiii
xix	e	*Nonas*		Octa. sancti Thomæ.	v
viii	f	viii	Id	*Epiphania Domini.*	vi
	g	vii	id	Felicis et Januarii.	vii
xvi	*A*	vi	id	Luciani presbyteri et sociorum.	viii
v	b	v	id	Jodoci.	viiii
	c	iiii	id	Pauli primi heremitæ.	x
xiii	d	iii	id	*Sol in Aquario.* Ignatii papæ et mar.	xi
ii	e	ii	id	Archadii martyris.	xii
	f	*Idus*		Hylarii episcopi.	xiii
x	g	xix	Kal	*Kl. Feb.* Felicis presbyteri.	xiiii
	A	xviii	Kal	Mauri abbatis.	xv
xviii	b	xvii	Kal	Marcelli papæ.	xvi
vii	c	xvi	Kal	Sulpicii episcopi.	xvii
	d	xv	Kal	Priscæ virginis.	xviii
xv	e	xiv	Kal	Wulstanni episcopi.	xix
iiii	f	xiii	Kal	Fabiani et Sebastiani.	xx
	g	xii	Kal	Agnetis virginis.	xxi
xii	*A*	xi	Kal	Vincentii et Anastasii.	xxii
i	b	x	Kal	Emerentianæ virginis.	xxiii
	c	ix	Kal	Sancti Timothei.	xxiiii
ix	d	viii	Kal	*Conversio sancti Pauli.*	xxv
	e	vii	Kal	Policarpi episcopi et martyris.	xxvi
xvii	f	vi	Kal	Juliani episcopi et martyris.	xxvii
vi	g	v	Kal	Agnetis secundo.	xxviii
	A	iiii	Kal	Valerii episcopi.	xxix
xiiii	b	iii	Kal	Batildis reginæ.	xxx
iii	c	ii	Kal	Saturnini et Victoris.	xxxi

KL *Februarius habet dies xxviii. Luna xxix. Quando est bissextus habet xxix. Luna vero xxx. Nox habet horas xiiii. dies vero x.*

	d	*Februa.*		Brigidæ virginis.	i
xi	e	iiii	No	*Purificatio beatæ Mariæ.*	ii
xix	f	iii	No	Blasii episcopi et martyris.	iii
viii	g	ii	No	Gilberti confessoris.	iiii
	A	*Nonas*		Agathæ virginis et martyris.	v
xvi	b	viii	Id	Vedasti et Amandi.	vi
v	c	vii	Id	Anguli episcopi.	vii
	d	vi	Id	Pauli episcopi. Luci.	viii
xiii	e	v	Id	Apolloniæ. *Sol in pisci.*	ix
ii	f	iiii	Id	Scolasticæ virginis.	x
	g	iii	Id	Euphrasiæ virginis.	xi
x	*A*	ii	Id	Eulaliæ virginis.	xii
	b	*Idus*		Vulfrani episcopi et confessoris.	xiii
xviii	c	xvi	Kl	Valentini episcopi et martyris.	xiiii
vii	d	xv	Kl	Faustini et Jovitæ.	xv
	e	xiiii	Kl	Julianæ virginis et martyris.	xvi
xv	f	xiii	Kl	Policronii episcopi et martyris.	xvii
iiii	g	xii	Kl	Symeonis episcopi et martyris.	xviii
	A	xi	Kl	Sabini et Juliani martyrum.	xix
xii	b	x	Kl	Mildredæ virginis.	xx
i	c	ix	Kl	Sexaginta novem martyrum.	xxi
	d	viii	Kl	*Cathedra sancti Petri apostoli.*	xxii
x	e	vii	Kl	Policarpi. Vigilia.	xxiii
	f	vi	Kl	*Mathiæ Apostoli.*	xxiiii
xvii	g	v	Kl	Inventio sancti Pauli.	xxv
vi	*A*	iiii	Kl	Alexandri episcopi.	xxvi
	b	iii	Kl	Augustini episcopi.	xxvii
xiiii	c	ii	Kl	Oswaldi episcopi et confessoris.	xxviii

KL *Martius habet dies xxxi. Luna xxx.*
Nox habet horas xii. Dies xii.

iii	d	*Martii*		David episcopi et confessoris.	i
	e	vi	No	Ceddæ episcopi et confessoris.	ii
xi	f	v	No	Maurini et Asterii.	iii
	g	iiii	No	Adriani martyris.	iiii
xix	*A*	iii	No	Phocæ et Eusebii.	v
viii	b	ii	No	Victoris et Victorini.	vi
	c	*Nonas*		Perpetuæ et Felicitatis.	vii
xvi	d	viii	Id	Depositio sancti Felicis.	viii
v	e	vii	Id	Quadraginta martyrum.	ix
	f	vi	Id	Agapæ virginis.	x
xiiii	g	v	Id	Quirion et Candidi.	xi
ii	*A*	iiii	Id	Gregorii. *Sol in Ariete.*	xii
	b	iii	Id	*Equinoctium vernale.*	xiii
x	c	ii	Id	Petri martyris.	xiiii
	d	*Idus*		Longini martyris.	xv
xviii	e	xvii	Kal	*Kalen. Aprilis.*	xvi
vii	f	xvi	Kal	Patricii episcopi. Gertrudis.	xvii
	g	xv	Kal	*Edwardi regis et martyris.*	xviii
xv	*A*	xiiii	Kal	Joseph sponsi beatæ Mariæ.	xix
iiii	b	xiii	Kal	Cuthberti episcopi et confessoris.	xx
	c	xii	Kal	Benedicti Abbatis.	xxi
xii	d	xi	Kal	Aphrodisii episcopi.	xxii
i	e	x	Kal	Theodori presbyteri.	xxiii
	f	ix	Kal	Agapiti martyris.	xxiiii
ix	g	viii	Kal	*Annunciatio beatæ Mariæ.*	xxv
	A	vii	Kal	Castoris martyris.	xxvi
xvii	b	vi	Kal	*Resurrectio Domini.*	xxvii
vi	c	v	Kal	Dorotheæ virginis.	xxviii
	d	iiii	Kal	Sancti Victorini.	xxix
xiiii	e	iii	Kal	Quirini martyris.	xxx
iii	f	ii	Kal	Adelmi episcopi et Sabinæ.	xxxi

KL *Aprilis habet dies xxx. Luna vero xxix.*
Nox habet horas x. Dies xiiii.

	g	*Aprilis*		Theodoræ virginis.	i
xi	*A*	iiii	No	Sanctæ Mariæ Egyptiacæ.	ii
	b	iii	No	Richardi episcopi. Pancratii.	iii
xix	c	ii	No	Ambrosii episcopi et confessoris.	iiii
viii	d	*Nonas*		Martiani.	v
xvi	e	viii	Id	Sixti papæ et martyris.	vi
v	f	vii	Id	Euphemiæ virginis.	vii
	g	vi	Id	Egesippi et sociorum ejus.	viii
xiii	*A*	v	Id	Perpetui episcopi.	ix
ii	b	iiii	Id	Passio sanctarum septem virginum.	x
	c	iii	Id	*Sol in Tauro.* S. Guthlaci conf.	xi
x	d	ii	Id	Julii papæ et confessoris.	xii
	e	*Idus*		Euphemiæ virginis.	xiii
xviii	f	xviii	Kl	*Kl Maiæ.* Tyburtii et Valeriani.	xiiii
vii	g	xvii	Kl	Oswaldi archiepiscopi.	xv
	A	xvi	Kl	Isidori martyris.	xvi
xv	b	xv	Kl	Aniceti papæ et martyris.	xvii
iiii	c	xiiii	Kl	Eleutherii et Anthiæ.	xviii
	d	xiii	Kl	Alphegi archiepiscopi.	xix
xii	e	xii	Kl	Victoris papæ et martyris.	xx
i	f	xi	Kl	Simonis episcopi.	xxi
	g	x	Kl	Sotheris.	xxii
ix	*A*	ix	Kl	*Georgii martyris.*	xxiii
	b	viii	Kl	Wilfridi episcopi et confessoris.	xxiiii
xvii	c	vii	Kl	*Marci evangelistæ.*	xxv
vi	d	vi	Kl	Cleti papæ et martyris.	xxvi
	e	v	Kl	Anastasii papæ.	xxvii
xiiii	f	iiii	Kl	Vitalis martyris.	xxviii
iii	g	iii	Kl	Petri Mediolanensis.	xxix
	A	ii	Kl	*Depositio Erkenwaldi.*	xxx

KL *Maius habet dies xxxi. Luna xxx.*
Nox habet horas viii. Dies xvi.

xi	b	*Maii*		*Philippi et Jacobi Apostolorum.*	i
	c	vi	No	Athanasii episcopi et confessoris.	ii
xix	d	v	No	*Inventio sanctæ crucis.*	iii
viii	e	iiii	No	Coronæ spineæ Domini.	iiii
	f	iii	No	Godardi archiepiscopi.	v
xvi	g	ii	No	Joannis ante portam Latinam.	vi
v	*A*	*Nonas*		Joannis de Beverlaco.	vii
	b	viii	Id	Apparitio sancti Michaelis.	viii
xiii	c	vii	Id	Translatio sancti Nicholai.	ix
ii	d	vi	Id	Gordiani et Epimachi.	x
	e	v	Id	Anthonii martyris.	xi
x	f	iiii	Id	Nerei. *Sol in Geminis.*	xii
	g	iii	Id	Servatii confessoris.	xiii
xviii	*A*	ii	Id	Bonifacii martyris.	xiiii
vii	b	*Idus*		Isidori martyris.	xv
	c	xvii	Kl	*Kal Junii.* Brandinii.	xvi
xv	d	xvi	Kl	Translatio sancti Bernardi.	xvii
iiii	e	xv	Kl	Dioscori martyris.	xviii
	f	xiiii	Kl	Dunstani archiepiscopi.	xix
xii	g	xiii	Kl	Bernardini. Ethelbertæ.	xx
i	*A*	xii	Kl	Helenæ reginæ.	xxi
	b	xi	Kl	Julianæ virginis.	xxii
ix	c	x	Kl	Desiderii martyris.	xxiii
	d	ix	Kl	Translatio sancti Francisci.	xxiiii
xvii	e	viii	Kl	Aldelmi episcopi et confessoris.	xxv
vi	f	vii	Kl	*Augustini anglorum apostoli.*	xxvi
	g	vi	Kl	Bedæ presbyteri.	xxvii
xiiii	*A*	v	Kl	Germani episcopi et confessoris.	xxviii
iii	b	iiii	Kl	Coronis martyris.	xxix
	c	iii	Kl	Felicis papæ. Huberti.	xxx
xi	d	ii	Kl	Petronillæ virginis.	xxxi

KL *Junius habet dies xxx. Luna vero xxix. Nox habet horas vi. Dies vero xviii.*

	e	*Junii*		Nicomedis martyris.	i
xix	f	iiii	No	Marcellini et Petri.	ii
viii	g	iii	No	Erasmi martyris.	iii
xvi	*A*	ii	No	Petrocii confessoris.	iiii
v	b	*Nonas*		Bonifacii papæ et martyris.	v
	c	viii	Id	Melonis archiepiscopi.	vi
xiii	d	vii	Id	Translatio sancti Wulstanni.	vii
ii	e	vi	Id	Wilhelmi archiepiscopi.	viii
	f	v	Id	Translatio sancti Edmundi.	ix
x	g	iiii	Id	Translatio sancti Yvonis.	x
	A	iii	Id	*Barnabæ Apostoli.*	xi
xviii	b	ii	Id	Basilidis confessoris.	xii
vii	c	*Idus*		*Sol in Cancro.*	xiii
	d	xviii	Kl	*Kl Julii.* Solst. æstiv.	xiiii
xv	e	xvii	Kl	Viti et Modesti.	xv
iiii	f	xvi	Kl	Translatio sancti Richardi.	xvi
	g	xv	Kl	Botulphi confessoris.	xvii
xii	*A*	xiiii	Kl	Marci et Marcelliani.	xviii
i	b	xiii	Kl	Gervasii et Prothasii.	xix
	c	xii	Kl	*Translatio sancti Edwardi.*	xx
ix	d	xi	Kl	Walburgæ virginis.	xxi
	e	x	Kl	Albani prothomartyris.	xxii
xvii	f	ix	Kl	Etheldredæ virginis. Vigil.	xxiii
vi	g	viii	Kl	Nativ. Joannis Baptistæ.	xxiiii
	A	vii	Kl	Translatio sancti Eligii.	xxv
xiiii	b	vi	Kl	Joannis et Pauli.	xxvi
iii	c	v	Kl	Sancti Crescentis.	xxvii
	d	iiii	Kl	Leonis papæ.	xxviii
xi	e	iii	Kl	*Petri et Pauli apostolorum.*	xxix
	f	ii	Kl	*Commemoratio sancti Pauli.*	xxx

KL *Julius habet dies xxxi. Luna xxv.*
Nox habet horas viii. Dies xvi.

xix	g	*Julii*		Octava sancti Joannis baptistæ.	i
viii	*A*	vi	No	*Visitatio beatæ Mariæ.*	ii
	b	v	No	Translatio sancti Thomæ apostoli.	iii
xvi	c	iiii	No	Translatio et ordi. S. Martini.	iiii
v	d	iii	No	Zoe virginis et martyris.	v
	e	ii	No	Octa. apostolorum Petri et Pauli.	vi
xiii	f	*Nonas*		*Translatio sancti Thomæ Martyris.*	vii
ii	g	viii	Id	Depositio sancti Gribaldi.	viii
	A	vii	Id	Cirilli episcopi et martyris.	ix
x	b	vi	Id	Septem fratrum martyrum.	x
	c	v	Id	Translatio sancti Benedicti.	xi
xviii	d	iiii	Id	Naboris et Felicis.	xii
vii	e	iii	Id	Privati martyris.	xiii
	f	ii	Id	Divisio apostolorum. *Sol in Leone.*	xiiii
xv	g	*Idus*		Translatio sancti Swithuni.	xv
iiii	*A*	xvii	Kal	*Kl Aug.* Translatio sancti Osmundi.	xvi
	b	xvi	Kal	Kenelmi regis et martyris.	xvii
xii	c	xv	Kal	Arnulphi episcopi et martyris.	xviii
i	d	xiiii	Kal	Rufinæ et Justinæ martyrum.	xix
	e	xiii	Kal	Margaretæ virginis.	xx
ix	f	xii	Kal	Praxedis virginis.	xxi
	g	xi	Kal	*Mariæ Magdalenæ.*	xxii
xvii	*A*	x	Kal	Appolinaris episcopi et martyris.	xxiii
vi	b	ix	Kal	Christinæ virginis. Vigil.	xxiiii
	c	viii	Kal	*Jacobi Apostoli.* Christofori.	xxv
xiiii	d	vii	Kal	Annæ matris Mariæ.	xxvi
iii	e	vi	Kal	Septem dormientium.	xxvii
	f	v	Kal	Sampsonis episcopi.	xxviii
xi	g	iiii	Kal	Felicis et sociorum ejus.	xxix
xix	*A*	iii	Kal	Abdon et Sennes.	xxx
	b	ii	Kal	Germani episcopi et martyris.	xxxi

KL *Augustus habet dies xxxi. Luna xxx.*
Nox habet horas x. Dies xiii.

viii	c	*Augusti*		Vincula Petri.	i
xvi	d	iiii	No	Stephani papæ.	ii
v	e	iii	No	Inventio Stephani.	iii
	f	ii	No	Justini presbyteri.	iiii
xiii	g	*Nonas*		Oswaldi. Festum nivis.	v
ii	*A*	viii	Id	Transfiguratio Domini.	vi
	b	vii	Id	Festum nominis Jesu.	vii
x	c	vi	Id	Ciriaci cum sociis mar.	viii
	d	v	Id	Romani martyris.	ix
xviii	e	iiii	Id	*Laurentii martyris.*	x
vii	f	iii	Id	Tyburtii martyris.	xi
	g	ii	Id	Claræ virginis.	xii
xv	*A*	*Idus*		Ipoliti cum sociis mar.	xiii
iiii	b	xix	Kl	*Kl. Septem. Sol in virgine.*	xiiii
	c	xviii	Kl	*Assumptio beatæ Mariæ.*	xv
xii	d	xvii	Kl	Rochi.	xvi
i	e	xvi	Kl	Octa. sancti Laurentii.	xvii
	f	xv	Kl	Agapiti martyris.	xviii
ix	g	xiv	Kl	Magni martyris.	xix
	A	xiii	Kl	Ludovici episcopi et confessoris.	xx
xvii	b	xii	Kl	Bernardi confessoris.	xxi
vi	c	xi	Kl	Octa. assumptionis Mariæ.	xxii
	d	x	Kl	Timothei. Vigilia.	xxiii
xiiii	e	ix	Kl	*Bartholomæi apostoli.*	xxiiii
iii	f	viii	Kl	Ludovici regis Franciæ.	xxv
	g	vii	Kl	Severini.	xxvi
xi	*A*	vi	Kl	Rufi martyris.	xxvii
xix	b	v	Kl	Augustini episcopi.	xxviii
	c	iiii	Kl	*Decollatio S. Joannis baptistæ.*	xxix
viii	d	iii	Kl	Felicis et Adaucti.	xxx
	e	ii	Kl	Cuthburgæ virginis.	xxxi

KL *September habet dies xxx. Luna vero xxix. Nox habet horas xii. Dies vero xii.*

xvi	f	*Septemb.*		Egidii abbatis.	i
v	g	iiii	No	Anthonini martyris.	ii
	A	iii	No	Ordinatio sancti Gregorii.	iii
xiii	b	ii	No	Translatio sancti Cuthberti.	iiii
ii	c	*Nonas*		Bertini abbatis.	v
	d	viii	Id	Sancti Eugenii.	vi
x	e	vii	Id	Evurtii episcopi et confessoris.	vii
	f	vi	Id	*Nativitas beatæ Mariæ.*	viii
xviii	g	v	Id	Gorgonii martyris.	ix
vii	*A*	iiii	Id	Silvii episcopi.	x
	b	iii	Id	Prothi et Jacinti martyrum.	xi
xv	c	ii	Id	Martiniani episcopi.	xii
iiii	d	*Idus*		Maurilii episcopi.	xiii
	e	xviii	Kl	*Exaltio s. crucis. Sol in libra.*	xiiii
xii	f	xvii	Kl	Octa. beatæ Mariæ.	xv
i	g	xvi	Kl	Euphemiæ virginis.	xvi
	A	xv	Kl	Lamberti episcopi et martyris.	xvii
ix	b	xiiii	Kl	Victoris et Coronæ.	xviii
	c	xiii	Kl	Januarii martyris.	xix
xvii	d	xii	Kl	Eustachii. Vigilia.	xx
vi	e	xi	Kl	*Matthei apostoli et evangelistæ.*	xxi
	f	x	Kl	Mauricii et sociorum ejus.	xxii
xiiii	g	ix	Kl	Teclæ virginis.	xxiii
iii	*A*	viii	Kl	Andochii martyris.	xxiiii
	b	vii	Kl	Firmini episcopi.	xxv
xi	c	vi	Kl	Cypriani et Justinæ.	xxvi
xix	d	v	Kl	Cosmæ et Damiani.	xxvii
	e	iiii	Kl	Exuperii episcopi.	xxviii
viii	f	iii	Kl	*Michaelis archangeli.*	xxix
	g	ii	Kl	Hieronymi presbyteri.	xxx

KL *October habet dies xxxi. Luna vero xxx.*
Nox habet horas xiiii. Dies vero x.

xvi	*A*	*Octobris*		Remigii episcopi.	i
v	b	vi	No	Leodegarii episcopi.	ii
xiii	c	v	No	Candidi martyris.	iii
ii	d	iiii	No	Francisci confessoris.	iiii
	e	iii	No	Apollinaris martyris.	v
x	f	ii	No	Fidis virginis.	vi
	g	*Nonas*		Marci et Marcelliani.	vii
xviii	*A*	viii	Id	Pelagiæ virginis.	viii
vii	b	vii	Id	*Dionysii et sociorum ejus.*	ix
	c	vi	Id	Gereonis et sociorum.	x
xv	d	v	Id	Nicasii episcopi et martyris.	xi
iiii	e	iiii	Id	Wilfridi episcopi.	xii
	f	iii	Id	*Translatio sancti Edwardi.*	xiii
xii	g	ii	Id	Calixti. *Sol in Scorpione.*	xiiii
i	*A*	*Idus*		Wulfranni episcopi.	xv
	b	xvii	Kl	*Kl. Novemb.* Michaelis in monte.	xvi
ix	c	xvi	Kl	Etheldredæ virginis.	xvii
	d	xv	Kl	*Lucæ evangelistæ.*	xviii
xvii	e	xiiii	Kl	Fredeswidæ virginis.	xix
vi	f	xiii	Kl	Austrebertæ virginis.	xx
	g	xii	Kl	Undecim milium virginum.	xxi
xiiii	*A*	xi	Kl	Mariæ Salomæ.	xxii
iii	b	x	Kl	Romani episcopi et confessoris.	xxiii
	c	ix	Kl	Maglorii episcopi et confessoris.	xxiiii
xi	d	viii	Kl	Crispini et Crispiniani.	xxv
xix	e	vii	Kl	Evaristæ et Amandi.	xxvi
	f	vi	Kl	Florentii martyris. Vigilia.	xxvii
viii	g	v	Kl	*Simonis et Judæ.*	xxviii
	A	iiii	Kl	Narcissi episcopi et martyris.	xxix
xvi	b	iii	Kl	Germani et Capuani.	xxx
v	c	ii	Kl	Quintini episcopi et martyris.	xxxi

KL *November habet dies xxx. Luna vero xxix.*
Nox habet horas xvi. Dies vero viii.

	d	*Novemb.*		*Omnium sanctorum.*	i
viii	e	iiii	No	*Commemoratio animarum.*	ii
ii	f	iii	No	Wenefredæ virginis.	iii
	g	ii	No	Amantii et Vitalis.	iiii
x	*A*	*Nonas*		Leti presbyteri et confessoris.	v
	b	viii	Id	Leonardi abbatis.	vi
xviii	c	vii	Id	Willibrordi archiepiscopi.	vii
vii	d	vi	Id	Quatuor coronatorum.	viii
	e	v	Id	Theodori martyris.	ix
xv	f	iiii	Id	Martini papæ.	x
iiii	g	iii	Id	*Martini episcopi.*	xi
	A	ii	Id	Paterni martyris.	xii
xii	b	*Idus*		Bricii episcopi et confessoris.	xiii
i	c	xviii	Kl	*Kl. Decemb.* Translatio Erkenwaldi.	xiiii
	d	xvii	Kl	Machuti. *Sol in Sagit.*	xv
ix	e	xvi	Kl	Depositio sancti Edmundi.	xvi
	f	xv	Kl	Hugonis episcopi et confessoris.	xvii
xvii	g	xiiii	Kl	Octa. sancti Martini.	xviii
vi	*A*	xiii	Kl	Elizabeth matronæ.	xix
	b	xii	Kl	Edmundi regis.	xx
xiiii	c	xi	Kl	*Præsentatio beatæ Mariæ.*	xxi
iii	d	x	Kl	Ceciliæ virginis.	xxii
	e	ix	Kl	Clementis papæ et martyris.	xxiii
xi	f	viii	Kl	Grisogoni martyris.	xxiiii
xix	g	vii	Kl	*Katherinæ virginis.*	xxv
	A	vi	Kl	Lini papæ et martyris.	xxvi
viii	b	v	Kl	Agricolæ et Vitalis.	xxvii
	c	iiii	Kl	Ruffi martyris.	xxviii
xvi	d	iii	Kl	Saturnini. Crisantis.	xxix
v	e	ii	Kl	*Andreæ Apostoli.*	xxx

KL *December habet dies xxxi. Luna vero xxx.*
Nox habet dies xviii. Dies vero vi.

	f	*Decembris*		Eligii episcopi et confessoris.	i
xiii	g	iiii	No	Libani.	ii
ii	*A*	iii	No	Barbaræ virginis.	iii
x	b	ii	No	Osmundi episcopi et confessoris.	iiii
	c	*Nonas*		Sabbæ abbatis.	v
xviii	d	viii	Id	*Nicolai episcopi.*	vi
vii	e	vii	Id	Octa. sancti Andreæ.	vii
	f	vi	Id	*Conceptio beatæ Mariæ.*	viii
v	g	v	Id	Cypriani abbatis.	ix
iiii	*A*	iiii	Id	Eulaliæ virginis.	x
	b	iii	Id	Damasi papæ et confessoris.	xi
xii	c	ii	Id	Pauli episcopi et confessoris.	xii
i	d	*Idus*		Luciæ virginis. *Sol in capricorno.*	xiii
	e	xix	Kl	*Kl. Jan. Solst. hye.*	xiiii
ix	f	xviii	Kl	Valerii episcopi et confessoris.	xv
	g	xvii	Kl	O Sapientia.	xvi
xvii	*A*	xvi	Kl	Lazari episcopi et confessoris.	xvii
vi	b	xv	Kl	Gratiani episcopi.	xviii
	c	xiiii	Kl	Venesiæ virginis.	xix
xiiii	d	xiii	Kl	Julii martyris. Vigilia.	xx
iii	e	xii	Kl	*Thomæ apostoli.*	xxi
	f	xi	Kl	Triginta martyrum.	xxii
xi	g	x	Kl	Victoriæ virginis.	xxiii
xix	*A*	ix	Kl	Sanctarum virginum .XL. Vigilia.	xxiiii
	b	viii	Kl	*Nativitas Domini.*	xxv
viii	c	vii	Kl	*Stephani prothomartyris.*	xxvi
	d	vi	Kl	*Joannis apostoli et evangelistæ.*	xxvii
xvi	e	v	Kl	*Sanctorum innocentium.*	xxviii
v	f	iiii	Kl	*Thomæ archiepiscopi.*	xxix
	g	iii	Kl	Translatio sancti Jacobi.	xxx
xiiii	*A*	ii	Kl	Silvestri papæ et martyris.	xxxi

Januarius habet dies xxxi. Luna xxx.

Ihesu lorde for thy holy *cyrcumsicion*
In the begynnyng of the newe ȝere
Kepe me ever from all confusion.
Whan I shall stande att myne answere
Graunte me grace well to appere
And for thy worshypfull *Epiphany*
Graunte me good lyfe and well to dy.
Now pray for me seynt *Lucyan*
That I may be had unto ȝoure daunce
Where God rewlyth angellys and man.
In trewe love w^t^outen variaunce
Yeve me som comforte of aqueyntaunce
Confessour and bysshop seynt *Hillary*
W^t^ seynt *Felyce* that ioyeth the by.
Abbot *Maure* kepe me from vyce
W^t^ help off pope and martyr *Marcell*
I pray the to teche me seynt *Sulpyce*
W^t^ vyrgyne *Pryste* to syng Nowell
Bysshop *Wlstan* yeve me good counsell
And these martires *Fabian* and *Sebastian*
W^t^ virgyne *Agnes* that well helpe can.
Set my pacyence seynt *Vyncent*
That hit may growe in my soule
Convert us from all evell entente.
The gloryows conversion off seynt *Poul.*
That we ascape the fendys all
Helpe us seynt *Julyan* to be unbounde
W^t^ virgyne *Agnes* the seconnde
Kepe us from all maner synne
Quene *Batylde* in specyall from pryde
Suffyr us nevere to dye ther inne.

December habet dies xxxi. Luna xxx.

Ayenst oure lordes hys *secunde advent*
Att domysday that we be schent
O lorde Ihesu to the we now cry
Whom we offendyd w[t] synnes allas
Have mercy on us for thy moder Mary
And for the love off seynt *Nycholas*
As trewly lorde as thy moder was
Kepte from synne in her holy *concepcion*
Wassche us from synne w[t] thy swete passyon
Save lord thy spouse all holy chyrche
Fro errours and heresyes that now doth sprynge
And teche us thy feyth trewly to wurche
W[t] seynt *Lucye* thy onne derlyng.
Graunte us in herte to ioye and syng
W[t] all other seyntes in thy presence
Thy worthy swete songe *O sapience*
Kepe all thy peple that ben alyve
Hem in specyall that I have in mynde
And all sowles w[t] thy wonndes fyve
When hit pleased the fro peynes unbynde
And graunte us all to synge w[t] *seynt Thomas of inde*
A careles carall in thy crystmasse
Cryyng nowell when we schall passe
Anew ys come the gloryous feste
The holy Natyvyte of cryst oure lorde
Steven make us all most and leste
W[t] *seynt John* in vertues thacorde
That we may sytte at *Innocentes* borde
W[t] seynt *Thomas of Cauntyrbury* oure frende
Now save us fader w[t] thy flessh thy worde
And that seynt *Sylvester* be at oure last ende.

Amen.

Litany.[3]

Kyrieleyson.

LORD, have mercy of us. Crist, have mercy of us. Lord, have mercy of us.
Crist, here us.
God, Fader of hevene, have mercy of us.
Goddis sone, that bouȝtest the world: have mercy of us.
God, the Holi Gost: have mercy of us.
Holi Trinite of God: have mercy of us.
Saint Mary: bidde for us.
Holy moder of God: praye for us.
Holy maide of maidenesse: pray for us.

Seynt Miȝhel:	prai for us.
Seynt Gabriel:	prai for us.
Seynt Raphael:	prai for us.
Alle holi aungels and archaungels:	prai for us.
Alle ordres of holi spirites:	prai for us.
Seint Jone baptist:	prai for us.
Alle holi patriarkes and prophetes:	prai for us.
Seint Petre:	prai for us.
Seint Poule:	prai for us.
Seint Andrewe:	prai for us.
Seint Joon:	prai for us.
Seint Philippe:	prai for us.
Seint James:	prai for us.
Seint Bartholomew:	prai for us.
Seint Symound:	prai for us.

[3] Douce MS. 275, fol. 38. *b*, in the Bodleian library, Oxford.

Seint Jude:	prai for us.
Seint Mathie:	prai for us.
Seint Thomas:	prai for us.
Seint Barnabe:	prai for us.
Seint Tadde:	prai for us.
Seint Luke:	prai for us.
Seint Marke:	prai for us.
Alle holi apostles and evangelistes:	prai ȝe for us.
Alle holi disciples of oure Lord:	prai ȝe for us.
Alle holi innocentes:	preie ȝe for us.
Seint Steven:	prai for us.
Seint Line:	prai for us.
Seint Clete:	prai for us.
Seint Clement:	prai for us.
Seint Cypriane:	prai for us.
Seint Laurence:	prai for us.
Seint Vincent:	prai for us.
Seint Jeorge:	prai for us.
Seint FFabiane and Sebastiane:	prai for us.
Seint Cosme:	prai for us.
Seint Damyan:	prai for us.
Seint Denys with thi felawes:	prai for us.
Seint Eustas and thi felawes:	prai for us.
Seint Thomas:	prai for us.
Seint Cristophre:	prai for us.
Seint Richard:	prai for us.
Alle holi martirs:	prai ȝe for us.
Seint Silvester:	prai for us.
Seint Hillary:	prai for us.
Seint Martine:	prai for us.
Seint Ambrose:	prai for us.
Seint Austyne:	prai for us.
Seint Jerome:	prai for us.
Seint Gregory:	prai for us.

Seint Nicholas: prai for us.
Seint Cuthberd: prai for us.
Seint Swithune: prai for us.
Seint Benete: prai for us.
Seint Leonarde: prai for us.
Seint Gyles: prai for us.
Seint Donstone: prai for us.
Seint William: prai for us.
Alle holi confessours: prai ȝe for us.
Seint Mary Maudeleyn: prai for us.
Seint Mary Egissciane: prai for us.
Seint Cecily: prai for us.
Seint Agace: prai for us.
Seint Agneys: prai for us.
Seint Luce: prai for us.
Seint Katerine: prai for us.
Seint Margarete: prai for us.
Seint Juliane: prai for us.
Seint Cristyne: prai for us.
Seint Pernelle: prai for us.
Seint Radegounde: prai for us.
Seint Fresewith: prai for us.
Alle holi maidenes: prei ȝe for us.
Alle maner of seyntes: preie ȝe for us.
Lord be goodliche and spare us.
From alle yvel: Lord delyvere us.
From alle the waitynges of the devil: Lord delivere us.
From endeles dampnacioun: Lord delivere us.
From the goost of lechery: Lord delivere us.
From unclennesse of bodi and soule: Lord delivere us.
From wrathe and hate and al ivel wille: Lord delivere us.

From unclene thouȝtes : Lord delivere us.
Bi thi incarnacioun : Lord delivere us.
By thi passioun : Lord delivere us.
Bi thi resurreccioun : Lord delivere us.
Bi thin ascencioun : Lord delivere us.
Bi the grace of the Holi Gost : Lord delivere us.
In the dai of dome : Lord delivere us.
We synful men prai thee to here us.

That thou ȝife us pees : We prai the to here us.

That thi mercy and thi pite kepe us : We prai the to here us.

That thou governe and kepe thi chirche : We prai the to here us.

That thou ȝeve pees to oure kynges and princes : we prai thee to here us.

That thou kepe alle oure bischopes in holi religioun : we prai thee to here us.

That thou kepe alle Cristen soules from endeles dampnacioun : Lord delivere us.

That thou vouchesaaf to ȝife us fruytes of the erthe : we prei the to here us.

Goddis sone : We preie thee to here us.

Lomb of God, that dost aweie the synnes of the world : We prei the to here us.

Lomb of God, that dost awei the synnes of the world : spare to us, Lord.

Lomb of God, that dost awei the synnes of the world : have mercy on us.

Crist, have mercy on us. Lord, have mercy on us. Crist, have mercy on us.

Fader oure. Heil Marie.

V. Lede us not into temptacioun. But delyvere us from ivel.

V. And thi mercy come upon us, Lord.

R. Thin helthe after thi speche.
V. Be to us, Lord, a tour of strengthe.
R. From the face of oure enemy.
V. Pees be maad in thi vertue.
R. And plente in thi toures.
V. Lord here my praiere.
And my crie come to the.

Deus cui proprium.

GOD, to whom it is propred to be mercyful ever and to spare, take oure preier: and late the mercy of thy pitee assoile hem that ben bounden with the cheyne of synnes: bi oure Lord Jesu Crist. Amen.

Ecclesie tue.

LORD, be thou plesed with the preiers of thi chirche, and graunte that alle errours and adversitees be destroiede, that thi chirche mowe serve to thee in siker pees.

Ure igne sancti.

LORD, we biseche the that thou brenne oure lendes and oure herte, with the fyer of the Holi Gost: that we mowe serve to the with chaste bodi, and plese to thee with clene herte.

Omnipotens.

ALMYGHTI God, with outen ende, that art endeles helthe of alle that bileven in thee, here oure preiere, for alle men and women, for whiche we bisechen to thi goodnesse, and graunte helthe of bodi and soule: so that whan thei ben hole, thei mowe ȝelde thankynges to thee in thi chirche.

Deus a quo.

GOD that tauȝtest the hertes of thi.

Pietate tua.

FOR thi pite, Lord, we bisechen the unbinde the bondes of alle oure synnes: and thoruȝ the preiere of the blessid and glorious evere lastynge maide Marie, with alle thi seintes, kepe us thi servauntis, and oure kyng, and alle Cristen peple, in alle holinesse: and alle that bi kynrede of blode, or bi homlynesse, or bi preiere, ben onlied with us: clense hem, Lord, of alle vices, liȝtne hem with vertues, pees and helthe ȝeve to us, putte awei fro us alle oure enemyes, bothe tho that we see and tho that we mowe noȝt see: ȝife thi charite to oure frendes and to oure enemyes, and helthe to alle sike, and to alle Cristen quyke and dede, graunte liif and endeles reste, bi Crist oure Lord. Amen.

This is the Letanie.[4]

Kyriel. Christel. Kyrieleyson.

LORD, haue mercy on us. Crist, have mercy on us. Lord, have mercy on us. Crist, here us.

God, Fader of hevene: have mercy on us.

Godessone, that bouȝtest the worlde: have mercy on us.

God, the Holy Goost: have mercy on us.

Holy Trinite, one God: have mercy on us.

Seynte marie: bydde for us. Holy moder of God: preye for us. Holy mayde of maydens: praye for us.

Seynte Michael: preye for us.
Seynte Gabriel: preye for us.
Seynte Raphael: preye for us.
Alle holy aungeles and archaungeles: preye for us.
Alle ordres of holy spyrites: preye for us.
Seynte Johne baptyst: preye for us.
Alle holy patriarches and prophetis: pray for us.
Seynte Petre: preye for us.
Seynte Poule: preye for us.
Seynte Andrew: preye for us.
Seynte Johne: preye for us.
Seynte Philippe: preye for us.
Seynte James: preye for us.
Seynte Bartholomew: preye for us.
Seynte Mathew: preye for us.

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[4] Douce MS. 246, fol. 53, in the Bodleian library, Oxford.

Seynte Symounde:	preye for us.
Seynte Jude:	preye for us.
Seynte Mathie:	preye for us.
Seynte Thomas:	preye for us.
Seynte Barnabe:	preye for us.
Seynte Thade:	preye for us.
Seynte Luke:	preye for us.
Seynte Marke:	preye for us.
Alle holy disciples of oure Lord:	preye for us.
Alle holy Innocentys:	preye for us.
Seynte Stevene:	preye for us.
Seynte Lyne:	preye for us,
Seynte Clete:	preye for us.
Seynte Clement:	preye for us.
Seynte Cypriane:	preye for us.
Seynte Laurence:	preye for us.
Seynte Vincent:	preye for us.
Seynte George:	preye for us.
Seynte Fabiane:	preye for us.
Seynte Sabastiane:	preye for us.
Seynte Cosma:	preye for us.
Seynte Damyane:	preye for us.
Seynte Denys:	preye for us.
Seynte Eustas and thy felawes:	preye for us.
Seynte Thomas:	preye for us.
Seynte Christofre:	preye for us.
Alle holy martyres:	preye for us.
Seynte Silvestre:	preye for us.
Seynte Hillarye:	preye for us.
Seynte Martyne:	preye for us.
Seynte Ambrose:	preye for us.
Seynte Austyne:	preye for us.
Seynte Jerome:	preye for us.
Seynte Gregorye:	preye for us.

Seynte Nicholas: preye for us.
Seynte Cuthbert: preye for us.
Seynte Swythyne: preye for us.
Seynte Benet: preye for us.
Seynte Leonarde: preye for us.
Seynte Gylys: preye for us.
Seynte Dunstone: preye for us.
Seynte Cecile: preye for us.
Alle holy confessours: preye ȝe for us.
Seynte *Marie* Magdeleyne: preye for us.
Seynte *Marie* Egypcian: preye for us.
Seynte Agace: preye for us.
Seynte Agneys: preye for us.
Seynte Lucye: preye for us.
Seynte Katerine: preye for us.
Seynte Margarete: preye for us.
Seynte Juliane: preye for us.
Seynte Cristyne: preye for us.
Seynte Perenel: preye for us.
Seynte Radegounde: preye for us.
Seynte Frisewith: preye for us.
Alle holy maydens: preye for us.
Alle maner seyntes: praye for us.

Lord be godeliche and spare us.

From alle yuel: Lord, delyuer us.

Frome alle the weytynges of the devel: Lord, delyver us.

From endeles dampnacioun: Lord delyver us.

From the goost of lichery: Lord delyver us.

From unclennes of body and soule: Lord delyver us.

From wrathe and hate and alle yvel wille: Lord delyver us.

From unclene thouȝtes: Lord delyver us.

By thy incarnacioun : Lord delyver us.

By thy passioun : Lord delyver us.

By thy resurreccioun : Lord delyver us.

By thyne ascencioun : Lord delyver us.

By the grace of the Holy Gost : Lorde delyver us.

In the day of dome : Lord delyver us.

We synful men prayeth the to here us.

That thou ȝeve us pees : we prayeth the to here us.

That thy mercy and thy pite kepe us : we prayeth the to here us.

That thou governe and kepe thy chirche : we prayeth the to here us.

That thou ȝeve pees to oure kynges and princes : we praye the to here us.

That thou kepe alle oure bisschoppes in holy religioun : we praye the to here us.

That thou kepe alle cristen soules from endeles dampnacioun : we praye the to here us.

That thou vouche saufe to ȝeve us fruytes of the erthe : we praye the to here us.

Goddes sone : we prayeth the to here us.

Lombe of God, that doost aweye the synnes of the world : have mercy of us and ȝeve us pees.

Crist here us.

Lorde have mercy on us. Crist have mercy on us. Lorde have mercy on us.

Pater noster. Fader oure that art in heven. *Ave Maria*. Hayle *Marie* fulle of grace.

And lede us noȝte into fondynge. Bot delyver us from yvel.

And thy mercy come upon us Lord. Thyne helthe aftir thy spekynge.

Be to us Lord a toure of strengthe. From the face of oure enemy.

Pees be made in thy vertue. And plentė in thy toures.

Lord here my prayere. And schew thy face and we schulle be saufe.

Orisone. Deus cui proprium.

GOD, to whomme is propred to be mercyfulle evere and to spare, take oure prayere, and late the mercy of thy pite assoyle hem that ben bounden with the cheyne of synnes, by oure Lord Crist. Amen.

Orisone. Ecclesie tue.

LORD, be thou plesed with the prayeres of thy cherche, and graunte that alle erroures and adversitees be destroyed, that thy cherche mowe serve to the in siker pees.

Ure igne Sancti Spiritus.

LORD, we bysecheth that thou bren oure leendes and oure herte with the fier of the Holy Goost: that we mowe serve to the with chaste body, and plese to the with clene herte.

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus salus eterna credencium.

ALLEMYGHTY God, with outen ende, that art endeles helthe of alle that byleveth in the, here oure prayere for alle men and wymmen for whiche we bysechen to thy godenesse: and graunte hem helthe of body and soule, so that whan they ben hole they mowe ȝelde thankynges to the in thy chirche.

Pietate tua.

FOR thy pite, Lord, we byseche the unbynde the bondes of alle oure synnes, and thoruȝ the

prayere of the blessed and gloriouse evere lastynge mayde *Marie*, with alle thyne seyntes, kepe us thy servauntys, and oure kynge, and alle cristen peple, in alle holynesse, and alle that by kynrede of blode or by homlynesse, or by prayere, ben oned with us: clense hem, Lord, of alle vices, ly3tne hem with vertues, pees and helthe 3eve to us, putte from us alle oure enemys bothe tho that we seene and tho that we mowe no3te see, 3eve thy charite to oure frendes and to oure enemys, and helthe to alle syke, and to alle cristene quyke and dede, graunt life and endeles rest by crist our lord. Amen.

Te Deum laudamus.[5]

THEE, God, we preisen: thee, Lord, we knowlechin.

The, endeles Fader: alle the erthe worschipeth.

To thee alle aungels, to thee heuenes: and alle maner poweres.

To thee cherubyn and ceraphin: crien with voice with outen stentinge.

Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of oostis.

Hevenes and erthe: ben ful of mageste of thi glorye.

The, the glorious companye of apostles.

The, the preisable noumbre of prophetis.

The, preiseth the white oost of martiris.

The holy chirche knowlechith thoruȝ alle the world.

Fader, of riȝt greet mageste.

And thi sothfast worschipful oonly sone.

And thee, Holi Goost, oure comfortour.

Thou kyng of glorie, Crist.

Thou art the endeles sone of the Fader.

Thou were not skoymes to take the maydenes wombe: to delivere mankynde.

Whanne thou haddest overcome the scharpnesse of deeth: thou openedist the kyngdomes of hevenes to hem that bileeveden in thee.

Thou settest on Goddes riȝt side: into the glorye of the Fader.

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[5] Douce MS. 275, fol. 6. *b*, in the Bodleian library, Oxford.

We bileeven that thou schalt come to be oure juge.

Therfore we beseechen thee help thi servauntes, that thou hast bouȝt with thi precious blode.

Make hem to be rewarded with thi seyntes, in endeles blisse.

Lord make saaf thin peple: and blesse thin heritage.

Governe hem and make hem hye: with outen ende.

By eche dai, we blesse to thee.

And we preisen thi name into the world: and into the world of world.

Lord, vouche sauf to kepe us to day: with outen synne.

Have mercy on us: Lord, have mercy on us.

Thi mercy be maad upon us: Lord, as we han hoped in thee.

In thee, Lord, I have hoped; late me not be schent withouten eende.

Te Deum laudamus: te Dominum.[a]

THE, God, we preyse: the, Lord, we knowleche.

The endeles Fader, al the erthe worsshippeth.

To the alle aungeles, to the heuens and alle maner poweres.

To the cherubyn and seraphyn, cryeth with voyce withouten cessyng.

Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of oostys.

Heuens and erthe ben fulle, of maieste of thy glorie.

The, the gloriouse companye of apostles.

The, the preyseable noumbre of prophetes.

The, preyseth the white oste of martyres.

The holy cherche knowleche thoruȝ alle the world.

Fader, of riȝte grete maieste.

And thy sothefast worsshippfulle oneliche sone.

And the holy gost, oure comfortour.

Thou, kyng of glorye, Crist.

Thou art the endeles sone of the fader.

Thou wert noȝt skoymes to take the maydenes wombe, for to delyver mankynde.

Whanne thou haddest overcome the scharpnesse of deth, thou opendest the kyngedomes of heuens to hem that byleueden in the.

Thou sittest on goddes riȝte syde, into the glorie of the fader.

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[a] Douce MS. 246, fol. 16. *b*, in the Bodleian library, Oxford.

We byleuen that thou schalt come to be oure juge.

Therefore we byseche the, help thy servauntes that thou hast bouȝte with thy precious blode.

Make hem to be rewarded with thy seyntes, in endeles blisse.

Lord make saufe thy peple, and blesse thyne herytage.

Gouerne hem, and make hem hey withouten ende.

By eche day, we blessen to the.

And we preysen thy name into the world: and into the world of the world.

Lord, vouchesafe to kepe us to day withouten synne.

Haue mercy of us, lord, haue mercy of vs.

Thy mercy be made upon vs, lord, as we han hoped in the.

In the, lord, I haue hoped, latte me noȝt be schent withouten ende.

Benedicite omnia opera.[7]

ALLE werkes of the lord, blesse ye to the lord: praise ye and overheie yee him in to the worldes.

Aungels of the lord, blesse ye to the lord: heuenes, blesse ye to the lord.

Alle watres that ben aboven heuenes, blesse ye to the lord: alle vertues of the lord, blesse yee to the lord.

Sonne and mone, blesse ye to the lord: sterres of heven, blesse ye to the lord.

Reyn and dewe, blesse ye to the lord: alle spirites of god, blesse ye to the lord.

Fier and swellynge hete, blesse ye to the lord: cold and somer, bless ye to the lord.

Dewes and hoor frost, blesse ye to the lord; frost and colde, blesse ye to the lord.

Yses and snowes, blesse ye to the lord: niȝtes and daies, blesse ye to the lord.

Liȝt and darknesse, blesse ye to the lord: liȝtnynges and clowdes, blesse ye to the lord.

The erthe blesse he the lord: preise and overheie he hym in to the worldes.

Hilles bothe more and lasse, blesse ye to the lord: alle that burgeneth in erthe, blesse ye to the lord.

Welles, blesse ye to the lord: sees and flodes, blesse yee to the lord.

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[7] Douce MS. 275, fol. 9. *b*, in the Bodleian library, Oxford.

Whales and alle that moven in watres, blesse ye to the lord: alle foules of heuene, blesse ye to the lord.

Alle bestis bothe moore and lasse, blesse ye to the lord: mennes sones, blesse ye to the lord.

Folk of Israel, blesse ye to the lord: preise thei him and overhie him into the worldes.

Prestes of the lord, blesse ye to the lord: servauntis of the lord, blesse ye to the lord.

Spirites and soules of riȝtful men, blesse ye to the lord: holi and meke of herte, blesse ye to the lord.

Ananye, Azarie, Mysael, blesse ye to the lord: preise and overheie ye him in to the worldes.

Blesse we the fader, and the sone, with the holi gost: preise we hym and overheie we hym into the worldes.

Blessed art thou, lord, in the firmament of heuene: and preisable and glorious and overheied, in to the worldes.

Magnificat.[8]

MI soule magnifie the lord: and my spirit hath gladid in god myn helthe.

For he hath biholden the mekeness of his hondmaiden: lo, forsothe, of this alle generaciouns schulen sein me blessid.

For he that is myȝti hath don to me greet thingis: and his name is holy.

And his merci fro kinrede into kinredis: to men dredynge him.

He made myȝte in his arme: he scateride proude men with mynde of his herte.

He puttide doun myȝti men fro sete: and enhaunside meke men.

He hath fulfilled hungry men with goode thingis: and he hath lefte riche men voide.

He havinge mynde of his merci: took up israel his child.

Has he hath spoken to oure fadris: to habraham and to his seed into worldis. Amen.

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[8] From MS. Harleian 2343, fol. 2, in the British museum.

Magnificat anima mea.[9]

MI soule magnifieth the lord: and my goost maad joye in god myn helthe.

For he lokede the mekenesse of his hond-maide: lo therfore alle generaciouns schullen say I am blessed.

For he that is myȝti hath do grete thinges to me: and his name holi.

And his mercy is fro kynredes in to kynredes: to hem that beth dredynge him.

He dide myȝt in his arme: he scatereth proude men with thouȝt of his herte.

He putte doun myȝti men of the sete: and heiȝede meke.

Hungry men he fulled with goodes: and riche he lefte empti.

He toke up Israel his child: thenkynge on his mercy.

As he hadde spoken to our fadres Abraham: and to his seed for euere.

Glory be to the fader.

Nunc dimittis servum.[10]

NOW thou levest thi servaunt, lord: after thi word in pees.

For myn eiȝen han seien thin helthe: whiche thou hast greithed to fore the face of alle folkes.

Liȝt to revelacioun of hethen folk: and glory of thi folk of Israel.

Glorie be to the.

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[9] Douce MS. 275, fol. 26, in the Bodleian library, Oxford.
[10] Ib. fol. 29.

Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel: quia visitavit.[11]

BLESSED be the lord god of Israel: for he hath visited us and made redempcioun of his folke.

And he hath rered up the horne of helthe to us: in the hous of David his childe.

As he hath spoken by the mowthe of seyntis: the whiche fro the world ben of his prophetis.

Helthe of oure enemys: and of the honde of alle that hateden us.

Merci to be don with oure faders: and have mynde of his holy testament.

The othe that he swor to Abraham oure fader: to ʒifen hym self to us.

That we with outen drede delyvered of oure enemys hondes: serven to hym.

In holynesse and ryʒtewisnesse by fore hym: alle oure dayes.

And thou childe schalt be clepyd prophete of the heyest: for why, thou schalt goo byfore the face of the Lord to make redy his weyes.

Connynge of helthe to be ʒoven to his folke: in to forʒevenesse of here synnes.

By the entrailles of mercy of oure god: in whiche he hath visited us growing from anheye.

To ʒeven liʒte to hem that sytten in derknesses, and in schadew of deeth: oure feet to be dressyd in to the weye of peese.

Glorie be to the fader. As it was in the bygynnyng.

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[11] Douce MS. 246, fol. 23, in the Bodleian library.

Versions of the Lord's Prayer.[12]

i. From a MS. in the library of Caius college, Cambridge, of the thirteenth century: and printed in the *Reliquiæ antiquæ*, vol. i. p. 282.

Pater noster. Fader oure that art in heve, i-halgeed bee thi nome, i-cume thi kinereiche, y-worthe thi wylle also is in hevene so be on erthe, oure iche-dayes-bred ȝif us to day, and forȝif us oure gultes, also we forȝifet oure gultare, and ne led ows nowth into fondingge, auth ales ows of harme. So be it.

ij. From a MS. in the British museum, Cotton, Cleopatra, B. vi. fol. 201, of about the middle of the thirteenth century. Also printed in *Reliquiæ antiquæ*, vol. i. p. 22.

Ure fader that hart in hevene,
halged be thi name with giftis sevene:
samin cume thi kingdom,
thi wille in herthe als in hevene be don:
ure bred that lastes ai,
ȝyve it hus this hilke dai:
and ure misdedis thu forȝyve hus,
als we forȝyve tham that misdon hus:
and leod us in tol na fandinge,
bot frels us fra alle ivile thinge. Amen.

Several other very early versions may be found in the same volume, pages 35, 38, 42, 57, 159, 169.

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[12] Many expositions in English of the Lord's prayer are to be found in manuscripts from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century. Some of these are brief; some very full and in detail. Two, different in their explanations, are in the Harleian MS. 2398. They are commonly called "Expositions of the seven axings of the pater noster."

Explanations of the ten commandments and of the creed are equally numerous. Many of these run to a great length, being in fact treatises. The shorter expositions were intended for children.

iij. From a MS. in the British museum, Bibl. reg. 5. C. v, of the fourteenth century, formerly belonging to the abbey of Sempringham: written on a blank leaf at the end.

Oure Fader that art in heuenes, and in alle holy men: hallewed be thi name in us, so that we be holy in thi name: come thi kyngdom vntill us, so that we tharunto come: ȝef us to do thi wille in erthe, als thin halwes it don in euene: ȝeue us to dai and eueri dai al that we to mister haue: and forȝif us oure misdedes, als we forȝeuen hem that us misdon: and lat us nouȝt be fonded of sinne, bot thu ȝif us thor ȝein to standen: deliure us out of this wikke werlde: and tak us to thi self into heuene. Amen.

iv. From a MS. No. 142 in St. John's college library, Cambridge: of the fourteenth century.

Fader oure that art in heuene, halwed be thi name: come thi kyngdom: fulfild be thi wil in heuene as in erthe: oure ech day bred ȝef vs to day, and forȝeue vs oure dettes as we forȝeueth to oure detoures: and ne led vs nouȝ in temptacion, bote deliuere vs of euel. So be it.

v. From the MS. Douce 246, in the Bodleian library, fol. 15: of the fifteenth century.

Pater noster. Fader oure that art in heuenes, halwed be thy name: thy kyngedom come to thee: thy wille be do in erthe as in heuen: oure eche dayes brede ȝeue us to daye: and forȝeue us oure dettes as we forȝeue to oure dettoures: and lede us noȝte into temptacion: bot delyver us from yvel. Amen.

vj. From the prymer in English and Latin, 8vo. Paris, 1538, fol. xxxvj. In my possession [1846]: now in the British museum.

Our father whiche art in heuen, halowed be thy

name. Let thy kyngdome cum vnto vs. Thy wyll be fulfylled as well in erthe, as it is in heuen. Gyue vs this daye our daylye breade. And forgyue vs our trespasses, as we forgyue them that trespas agaynst vs. And lede vs nat in to temptacyon. But delyuer vs from euyll. So be it.

Versions of the Creed.

i. From a MS. in the British museum, Cotton, Cleopatra, B. vi. fol. 201, of the thirteenth century: printed in *Reliquiæ antiquæ*, vol. i. p. 22.

HI true in God, fader hal-michttende, that makede heven and herdethe: and in Ihesu Krist, is anelepi sone, hure laverd, that was bigotin of the hali gast, and born of the mainden marie, pinid under Punce Pilate, festened to the rode, ded and dulvun, licht in til helle, the thride dai up ras fra dede to live, steȝ in til hevenne, sitis on his fadir richt hand, fadir al-waldand, he then sal cume to deme the quike an the dede. Hy troue hy theli gast, and hely kirke, the samninge of halȝes, forȝifnes of sinnes, uprisigen of fleyes, and life withhuten ende. Amen.

ij. From a MS. in the British museum, Harleian 3724, fol. 44, of the thirteenth century: also printed in *Reliquiæ antiquæ*, vol. i. p. 57.

I bileve in god fadir almichty, sshipper of hevene and eorthe: and in Ihesus Crist, his onlepi sone, ure loverd, that is i-vang thurch the holy gost, bore of Marie Mayden, tholede pine under Pounce Pilat, picht on rode tre, ded and y-buriid, licht in to helle, the thridde day fram deth aros, steich in to hevene, sit on his fadir richt honde, God almichti, thenne is cominde to deme the quikke and the dede. I bileve in the holy gost, al holy chirche, mone of alle halwen, forȝivenes of sinne, fleiss uprising, lyf withuten ende. Amen.

Several other versions may be seen in the same collection, particularly one which renders *carnis resurrectionem* by "arysnesse of flesse." Vol. i. p. 282.

iij. From the MS. Harleian 2343, fol. 2, of the fourteenth century, in the British museum.

I bileue into god, fader almyȝti, maker of heuene and of erthe: and into Iesu Crist his onli sone, oure lord, which was conceyued of the holi goost, borun of the virgyne marie, he suffrid passioun Pilat of pounce, crucified, deed and buried: he wente doun to helle, the thridde day he roos aȝen from deeth to liif, he stiȝed to heuene: there he sittith on the riȝthalf of god the fadir almyȝti: and fro thens he is to come to deeme the quyke and the deede. I belieue in the holi goost, al holi chirche, communynge of seyntis, forȝeuenes of synnes, aȝenrisyng of fleisch, and euerlastyng liif. Amen.

iv. From the Douce MS. 246, in the Bodleian library: of the fifteenth century.

I bileue in God, Fadre alle myȝty, shapere of heuene and of erthe. And in Ihesu Crist his oonlepye sone, oure Lord oon: whiche was conceyvede of the Holy Goost: borne of the mayden Marye: suffrede under the Ponce Pilate: crucifyede, and dede: and is buriede: cometh doun to helles: the thridde day he roos from deethis: steyed up to heuenes: sitteth on his Fadre riȝte side, God alle myȝhty: and fro thense he is to come for to deeme the qwyke and dede. I bileue in the Holy Spirit, holy chirche, comunyng of seyntes, forȝeuenesse of synnes, risyng of flesshe unto ay lastynge lif. So mote it be. Amen.

v. From the prymer in English and Latin, 8vo. Paris, 1538, fol. xxix.

I beleue in god, the father almyghty, maker of heuen and earthe. And in Iesu Chryst hys onely sonne our Lorde. Whiche was conceyued by the holy

ghoste, and borne of the virgyn Mary. Which suffred deathe under Pons Pylate, and was crucifyed, deade, and buryed. Which descendyd to hell, the thyrde day rose from death to lyfe. Whiche ascendyd into heuen, and syttheth at the ryȝt hande of god, the father almyghtye. And from thens shall come for to iudge both the quycke and the deade. I beleue in the holy ghoste. The holy churche catholike, the communyon of sayntes. The remyssyon of synnes. The resurrectyon of the flesshe. And the lyfe euerlastynge. So be it.

To the above may be added a paraphrase, rather than version, of the creed, from a MS. in the British museum, Bibl. reg. 17. B. 17, of the fifteenth century. I follow the transcript in Casley's catalogue.

I byleue stedfastely in my lord god almyȝhty, that is fadur and sone and holy goost, thre persones and on god. I byleue that his sone tooke fleessche and blood in our ladye, clene modur wiif and mayden, by lyȝeyns of the holy gooste, as his wille was: I byleue that goddis sone suffryd also deeth for me and alle mankynde. And also I byleue that he was in the sepulcur and that his soule went down to helle, and brouȝt out soulis that weren therinne: and that he roos from deeth to lyue on the thridde day, and he stey to heuene on hooly thursday, and set hym on his fadur riȝt hond: and that he schal comen aȝen to the general iugement, to reward yche man aftur his deseruyng. I byleue in . . . sacrament of hooly chyrch, a ȝyft of the fadur and of the son and of the hooly goost, thre persones in o godhed. I byleue also in hooly chirch ordrynge us. I byleue in the sacrament of goddis flesche and his blood that he shedde on the blessid . . . . rood tre for me, and for alle mankynd.

The ten commandments in verse.[13]

DECEM MANDATA.

Thou schalte haue on god and no moo,
And ouer alle þinge loue hym also:
Goddys name in ydel take þou nouȝte,
Ne swere by noþinge þt god haþ wrouȝte:
Haue mynde to halowe þi holyday,
Wiþ alle þi mayn, man and maye:
Þi faþer and modyr worschipe boþ
Wiþ counselle, comforte, meete, and clooþ:
Þou schalt not slee lowde ne stylle,
Wiþ tonge ne knyfe ne wycked wylle:
Lechery schalt þou noon doo,
In wylle ne worde ne dede also:
Þou schalt not stele þi neyȝbores þinge,
Bygyle ne raueyn ne wronge wiþholdynge:
Þou schalte not speke no false wytnessynge,
In worde ne dede make no lesynge:
Þi neyȝbores þinge coueyte þou noon,
Ne vnmenable þinge feld ne towne:
Þi neyȝbores wyfe desyre þou nouȝte,
Seruant ne mayden ne oþer awȝt:
Þese ben þe hestes tenne,
Þat God comaundeþ to alle men.

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[13] From a manuscript in the British museum, Harl. 1706.

The following is taken from the last leaf of the manuscript prymer in the Bodleian: Douce MS. 246:—

fife wittes.	Seynge herynge Smellynge Tastynge felynge	spende hem wel. ✠
Seuen dede liche synnes.	Pride Envie Wraþ licherie Glotonye Scleuþe Couetise	fle þes.
Seuene ȝiftes of ye holy gost.	Wysdome Vnderstondynge Counseil Strengþe Connynge Pite Drede	Gouerne ye hereby.
Seuen workys of mercy.	fede ye hungry ȝeue drynke to ye þersty herbourghe ye houseles Cloþe ye naked visite ye syke visite ye prisones berye ye dede	And you schalt haue heuene.

Six maner of consense.	Helper Defender Counseillour Wiþdrawer of help he yt undernymeþ[1] not	Ware ypo crytes lo ye deuels nette.

Doc.	consul.	castig.	solare.	remitte.	fer.	ora.
Teche.	counsele.	chastise.	conforte.	forȝeue.	suffre.	pray.

Seuene workes of gostly mercy þat ben beter þan bodi ly almes as þe soule is better þan ye bodye.	Teche unconnynge men goddes lawe, Counseyle doughty men ye reyght wey to heuen, Chastise rebellones aȝens goddes hestys, Conforte men þat ben in meschefe, Forȝeue þine owen wronges and repreues, Suffre men þt ben malencoliouse, Prey for þine enemyes.

[1] Helpeth? receiveth?

"Whan synne doth vertu undernym and myne,
The light of grace will no lenggir shyne."

MS. Laud. 416, *cit.* Archaic dictionary.

Ps. Quicunque vult.

Mediæval English versions of the Athanasian creed are (I believe) extremely rare: I do not remember to have seen one of the whole psalm. The Douce manuscript 258 in the Bodleian library has a large portion of it, accompanied by a commentary or explanation.

Who yat euer wele be saaf, it is nedful before al thyng yat he hold ye comon beleue.

This comone feith is of yis kynde: yat but eche man kepe hool and unfouled, wythout doute he schal perische wythouten ende.

This is common beleue yat eche man schulde trowe: yat we worschep oo god in triniti of persones: ye whiche god is trinite in onhed of godhed.

And yiis schal we trowe: neither medling yese thre persones, ne depertyng ye substaunce of god in yese persones.

Ther is other persone of ye fader, and other of ye sone, and other persone of ye holy gost.

But of these thre persones is oo godhede: and euen glorie and common maieste withouten ende.

Whiche is ye fader such is ye sone: such is ye holy gost.

Unmad is ye fader, unmad is ye sone, unmad is ye holy gost.

The fader is wythoute mesure meche [much]: and ek ye sone wyth ye holy gost.

The fader is wythouten begynnyng, and also wythouten endyng: and so ben ye other two persones.

And so ther ben nat thre unmaade, ne thre yus grete, ne thre wythouten ende: but alle yese thre persones ben in god yat is suche.

Also almyghti is ye fader, almighti is ye sone, almyghti is ye holy gost: and netheles not thre goddes ben almyghti, but oo god is almyghti.

So ye fader is god, ye sone is god, and ye holi gost is ye same god: and netheles yer ben not thre godde, but oo god is alle yese thre.

And so ye fader is lord, ye sone is lord, ye holi gost is lord: and yet yei ben not thre lordes, but oo lord is eche of yese.

But ye fader is maade of noon: ne maade of nought ne begoten.

The sone is of oo fader: not maade of nought but born.

The holi gost cometh bothe of ye fader and of ye sone: not maad ne maad of nought but comyng forth.

And herfore we moten nede confesse yat yer is oo fader, not thre fadres, oo sone not thre sones, oon holy gost, not thre holi gostes.

And yis trinite is not before ne after: more ne lesse.

But al thre persones ben euene wythouten beginning and ende: and euene in power and in godhed.

And so we gaderen here as it is before seyde yat bothe onhede in godhede, and trinite in persones and trinite in yis onhed ben to worcheped ouer other thynges.

And who soeuer wele be saafe, yus fele he of ye trinite.

Therfore it is right beleue, yat we beleue and knowleche yat oure lorde ihu crist goddis sone is bothe god and man.

He is god of ye substaunce of his fader born

spirituali before ye world: and he is man of his moderes substaunce, and maad man in yis worlde.

And so he is parfite god, as he was before ye world: and he is perfite man maade of resonable soule and yer with of mannes flesche.

The manuscript is here imperfect; and some leaves are missing. **I give the remainder, and two preceding verses also for the sake of comparison, from the Sarum prymer printed by Petyt, 1543.**

He is god by the substance of the father gotten before all worldes, and he is man by the substaunce of his mother borne in the worlde.

Perfyte God, perfyte man, beynge of soule reasonable, and of fleshe humane.

Equall to the father in his godheade, lesse then the father by his manheade.

Whiche though he be god and man, and yet is there not twayne but one chryst.

Truely he is one not by the turnynge of his godheade into manheade, but by assumpting his manheade into godheade.

Beyng one to all ententes, not by confusion of substaunce, but by unyte of person.

For as the reasonable soule and the fleshely body is or maketh one man, so god and man is one christ.

Which suffered death for our saluation, descended to hell, and rose from death the thyrde day.

Whiche ascended to heuens, sytteth on the ryght hande of god the father almyghtye, from thense shall he come to judge the quycke and deade.

At whose commyng all men must ryse with theyr bodyes, and shall gyue accompt of theyr proper dedes.

And they that haue done wel shal go into euerlastynge lyfe, they that haue done euyll into euerlasting fyre.

This is the catholike fayth, which except euery man faythfully and stedfastly do byleue, he can not be saved.

The commentary above mentioned is arranged after each verse or two verses. It begins: "It is seyd comonly yat yer ben thre credes; ye first is of apostles yat men knowen comounly; the tothir is crede of chyrche, yat declareth the former crede; ye thridde crede is of ye trinite, ye which is songen as a psalme, and was maade in grek speche, of one which is cleped athanasius."

On the verse "Ye fader is wythoute mesure, *etc.*," "For yer is a common gretnesse of alle yese thre persones, and it seyth no quantite, ne strechyng of goddes partes; for yis holy trinite is wythoute ony part; but at eche part of yis world is ye holy trinite: and if yis world wer more yer wer ye trinite, for god may not fayle to be in place, ne nothing yat he hath maade. But if yer were a voyde place, wythouten heuene, wythouten mesure, god were euerywhere in yis place; but ther is non suche voyd place."

Once more: on the verse, "Ye holi gost cometh bothe of ye fader, *etc.*," "For as we tolden of double birthe, so yer ben two comynges forth; yis comyng forth yat we tellen here is wythouten beginning and endyng, but it is a bringen forth wilful of two persones, and yus yei may not be oo fader, ne yis thridde persone her sone. But beleue techeth us yat at god knoweth hymselfe. So for these two thynges god restith in his owne wille, sith god hath goode wille to hymselfe be his power and yis knowing. But understonde we not yese persones as thre bodies or thre substaunces, but as oo symple substaunce, yat is common to hem alle."

The Golden Litany, the .xv. Oos, and other Occasional Prayers, and Forms.

The Goolden Letanye.[1]

HERE begnnyth in the hand of god the goolden letanye of the lyf and passion of oure lorde Jesu Criste, in the same maner and forme, that he self hath shewed to the helthe and saluacion of all crysten peple.

Lorde, haue mercy on vs.

crist, haue mercy on vs: ande graunt vs strength of soule inwarde and outwarde, that we may serue the to the pleasure of thi wyll.

Lorde god, fader of heuen: by thour heuenly vertue, haue mercy on vs.

The sone of god, the redemer of the worlde: haue mercy on vs.

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[1] This litany is taken from a MS. in the library at Lambeth: no. 546, fol. 29. It is preceded by a long account "of a fayre miracle or shewyng of the golden letany to an holy woman namyd Mawdlene, of good and lawdable lyf:" and how our blessed Lord made it known to her in a vision: with much other marvellous detail. Such recommendations of prayers are very frequently met with in early manuals of devotions: the psalter of St. Jerome, and the xv oos of St. Brigitte, will readily occur to the recollection of the reader. But it will be a most unwise course immediately to condemn the prayers or litanies which may be so recommended, for these are generally of much earlier date; and the legend was superstitiously attached to the prayer, and not the prayer to the legend.

The rest of the volume from which this Golden litany is taken contains many other prayers and meditations: such as, of the xv sorrows; meditation of a sick man; prayers to our Lady; a devout prayer before the receiving of the holy communion; &c. Some of these are in Latin, some in English.

O holy goost, oon god, whyth the fadyr and the son: haue mercy on vs.

Lorde god, by thy increate ande vndiuidid trinite: haue mercy on vs.

Bi thy godly beyng: haue mercy on vs.

By thy godly nature: haue mercy on vs.

By thy infinite buxomnes: haue mercy on vs.

By thy self and all goodnes, that thou beholdest in thy self: haue mercy on vs.

By the creacion of heuen and erth and all thyngis that be in them: haue mercy on vs.

By thy goodnes with whych thou hadest in the creacion of man to thy ymage an lyknes: haue mercy on vs.

By that gret loue where with thou didest predestinate to repeyre man that fell: haue mercy on vs.

By that ineffable loue whereby thou chosest mary most pure virgine into thy mother: haue mercy on vs.

By that most holy name marye, that descendid and flowed fro the hye throne of the gloriouse trinite: haue mercy on vs.

By the concepcion of thy blyssid modir and virgine whyche was sanctificate in her mothers wombe: haue mercy on vs.

By her most holy natevite: haue mercy on vs.

By hir virginite and gret mekenes: haue mercy on vs.

By that meke affection and loue that drewe thee from the bosom of the fadir into the wombe of the virgyn: haue mercy on vs.

By the humilite of thy hye mageste whych disdayned not to discend into the wombe off virgyn marye; haue mercy on vs.

For the fraylte of man whych thou lothest not to take wylfully for our synnys: haue mercy on vs.

For thy holy natiuite that thou vouchest saue to be borne of a woman: haue mercy on vs.

For that vnspekable delectation and gladnes that thi blyssed modir had in thi natiuite: haue mercy on vs.

By that cold crebe that thou layste in, wrapped in pore clothes and fede with maydyns mylke: haue mercy on vs.

By the gret joye of the shepherdis that worshypped thee lyinge in the crebe: haue mercy on vs.

For that paynfull circumcision, and shedynge of thy preciouse blode, and for the vertue of thy holy name Jesus, and all thy blyssid names: haue mercy on vs.

For the oblacion and the prayers of the thre kynges: haue mercy on vs.

ffor that blyssyd oblacioun, the whyche thou were offered to thy fader in the temple: haue mercy on vs.

For thy flyght in to egypte, and all penalites that thou suffredist there with thi blyssyd mother: haue mercy on vs.

For thi commyng agen fro egypte in to nazareth, and thi meke obedience that thou woldest subdue to thee thy fadir and modir: haue mercy on vs.

For thi lowly and meke conversacion that thou lyuest thre and thrity yere here oon erth: haue mercy on vs.

For thi meke obedience and gret pacience: haue mercy on vs.

For thi most holy meditacions, wordys and workis of mercy: haue mercy on vs.

For thi holy baptyme, and thi gloriouse apperyng of the holy trinite: haue mercy on vs.

For thy holy faste, contemplacion, genyflexions, and the tempting of the fynde in deserte: haue mercy on vs.

For thy thriste, hunger, coolde, and hete, whyche thou sufferedist in this vale of miseri: haue mercy on vs.

For thi heuynes, labor and werines: haue mercy on vs.

For the detraccion and euell wordis that thy enemyes bakbited the: haue mercy on vs.

For thy wache and prayers: haue mercy on vs.

For thy holsome doctryne, benefytes, and thy myghty resistens that thou gauest no place to thy enmys: haue mercy on vs.

For the wonderfull signes and myracles whyche thou wroughtest: haue mercy on vs.

For thi meke and holy conuersacion: haue mercy on vs.

For thi holy teerys and meke intronizacion in ierusalem on palme: haue mercy on vs.

For that curside counsell in the whyche the maliciouse Jewes conspirid in to the deth: haue mercy on vs.

Bi that feruent and charitable desire that thou haddist to redeme vs: haue mercy on vs.

Bi that grett lowlynes that thou shewest, in washyng the feete of thy disciples, and of Judas, that betrayd the: haue mercy on vs.

For thi most noble ande worthi institution of the sacrament of thy most precious body and blode: haue mercy on vs.

For that profounde loue in the whyche thou suffredist seynt john the euangelyste to rest vpon thi brest at thi soper: haue mercy on vs.

For pees whych thou gauest to thi disciples: haue mercy on vs.

For thi holi wordis and sermons: haue mercy on vs.

For inwarde and grett heuenes, whyche thou haddist when thou praydist to thi fadir in the garden byside the mounte of olyuete: haue mercy on vs.

Bi the vertue of thi holy prayer that thou prayedest ther thre tymes: haue mercy on vs.

For thy ferfull drede of thi deth, haue mercy on vs.

For that agony in the whych thou offerdest thee wilfully to deth, obeying thi almyghty fadir, and thi blode swette: haue mercy on vs.

Bi thy grett mekenes that thou woldest be comfortid of an angell, so comforte me in every tyme: and haue mercy on vs.

Bi thy myghty and victorious wytt, that wentyst ageynst them that soughte thee to deth: haue mercy on vs.

Bi thi ferfull takyng, when the jewes layde violently ther handis on thee: haue mercy on vs.

For thi grete goodnes, that thou refusidest not the cisse of judas, thi betrayour, and the eere of malcus, that peter smote of thou didest restore and hele: haue mercy on vs.

For that holy bondis, that thou were bounde with and ladde as a prisoner, and opprobrious wordis, that thou suffredist all that nyght: haue mercy on vs.

For the buffet that thou suffredist in the presens of anne the bishope, and other shame donn to thee: haue mercy on vs.

For that loue and charite that thou hadist when thou were brought bounde afore cayphas, the bishope: haue mercy on vs.

Bi the false witnesse and thi vnryghtwos dampnacion: haue mercy on vs.

Bi the spyttynge on thee, and the scornynge of thee, haue mercy on vs.

By the buffetis, and sore strokys, gyuen to thee: haue mercy on vs.

By the byndyng and blyndfelyng of thi holy eyen, shames, and reprouys that thou suffredest all that nyght: haue mercy on vs.

For that mercyfull beholdyng that thou beheldest petir, and for all that labour and tormentis that were secrete and vnknowne, whiche thou sufferedist all that nyght: haue mercy on vs.

Bi thi presentyng afore pilate, and the accusynges that the jewes made agenst thee: haue mercy on vs.

ffor the contempte and the illusion that thou suffredist of herode, and the white garment that he sentt thee in agen to pilate: haue mercy on vs.

For all the shames, laboures, obreydynges and reproues which thou suffredist goyng from on juge to an other: haue mercy on vs.

For thi gret paciens, and stylnes: haue mercy on vs.

For the shamfull pluckyng of thi clothes, and the byndynge of thi most holy body to a pilour: haue mercy on vs.

For thi scorgiengis and cruell bettynges: haue mercy on vs.

For thi innumerable woundes, and the plentuous shedyng of thi blode: haue mercy on vs.

For all thi payne, sorowe, colde, and quakyng: haue mercy on vs.

For thi purpill garment and thi crowne of thornes

violently pressed on thi hede: haue mercy on vs.

For the grete ache that thou didist suffre in thi hedde, when it was smyte on the crowne of thorne whith a kynges scepture: haue mercy on vs.

Bi the scornefull worshipping of the jewes and salutacion when they seyde, heyle kyng of jewes: haue mercy on us.

Bi the spittyng on thi godly face and cruell betynges: haue mercy on vs.

For that heuenes of hert that thou haddist, when pilate broughth thee foreth before the multitude of the peple, wering the crowne of thorne and the purpell vesture, and seyd to them, loo beholde the man: haue mercy on vs.

For that ferfull sentence of deth and shamefull ledyng to the mounte of caluarie: haue mercy on vs.

For thi grete loue shewede to vs wen thou berist thi heuy crosse vpon thi shuldres, to the place where thou suffredist thi most paynfull passyon, and the labour, angwysh, sclaundres, and betynges that thou didist suffer by the way: haue mercy on vs.

For all thi blody steppes that thou madist goyng to thi deth: haue mercy on vs.

Bi the grete werenes that thou haddest on thi shuldir beryng the crosse vntill thou fell downe: haue mercy on vs.

Bi the grete compassion of thi hert, that thou haddist, wen bering the crosse thou mettist thi blyssid modir makyng most sorowe and lamentacion: haue mercy on vs.

Bi thi heuy chere, and the goyng vp of hey

mounte of caluarie where thou were crucifyed: haue mercy on vs.

Bi the pluckyng of thi clothes to thi most schame, in the syght of thi blyssid modir, and all the peple: haue mercy on vs.

Bi that cold sittyng that thou sattyst pitiously full of wondis in the colde wendes, so abydynge vntill thi crosse was redy: haue mercy on vs.

For tho sore and peynfull steppes thou madest goyng to thi crosse: haue mercy on vs.

For the grete anguesshe, morenynges, and wepeynges: haue mercy on vs.

For the grete strecchyng of thi synewes, and veynes, and all thi membres: haue mercy on vs.

By the naylyng of thy ryght hande, and shedyng of thi precious blode, clense vs lorde from all synne, and haue mercy on vs.

Bi the naylyng of thi lefte hande, and thi most holy wounde and preciouse blode: saue vs, and haue mercy on vs.

For the naylyng of thi most holy feete and by the woundes of them, and the preciouse blod flowyng oute of them: porge vs, lyght vs, and reconsile vs to god the fadir, and haue mercy on vs.

For the lyftyng vp of thi most holy body on the crosse, and the sore braysyng thereof, that gaue to all partyes of thi body an vncredible peyn: haue mercy on us.

For the heuenes of thi hert and all the powers of thi soule: saue vs, deliuer vs, and haue mercy on vs.

For the partyng of thi clothis, and the lotte that thei cast vpon thi cote that was made withoute seem, thou beholdyng it: have mercy on vs.

For thi grete loue that thou hyngest on the crosse thre houres alyue: have mercy on vs.

For tho opprobrious and scornefull wordes, whych hangyng on the crosse thou herdist spokyn vnto thee: haue mercy on vs.

For the blasphemyng, sorowe, and confusion, which thou suffredist on the crosse: haue mercy on vs.

For all sorowe and peyne that thou suffredist in thi ribbis, reynes, and shuldres in tyme of thi crucyfyeyng: haue mercy on vs.

For all the peyn theer beyng streyned on the crosse thou suffredist in thi handes, feete, and all thi membris: haue mercy on vs.

For that wonderfull charite when thou praydist thi allmyghty fadir for thyn enemyes: haue mercy on vs.

For thi grete mercy that thou promysist paradyse to the thefe, hangyng on that ryght side: haue mercy on vs.

For the tendir prouysioun that thou haddist to thi mothir in thi tormentis, commendyng hir to thi well-beloued disciple, john: haue mercy on vs.

For that grete and myserable crye that thou madist to thi father: haue mercy on vs.

For the swerde of sorowe that whent through the soule of thi blyssid modir, and her grete compassion and teers that stondyng by the crosse lamentably she shede: haue mercy on vs.

For tho holy teers that thou shedist on the crosse, and in all thi lyue tyme: haue mercy on vs.

For thi thirste and tastyng of gall and eysyl, graunte vs to tast the swetnes of thi spirite: and haue mercy on vs.

For all tho holy wordis that thou spakyst on the crosse, and in all thi lyue: haue mercy on vs.

For that piteous crye in the which thou commendist thi soule to thi fadir, oure soules be commendid to thee: and haue mercy on vs.

Bi the departyng of thi holy soule fro thi blyssed godly body: haue mercy on vs.

Bi the restyng of thi most blissid hedde upon thi brest: inclyne, most swete Jesu, to vs.

Bi the bitternes of thi deth, and the intolerable peynes wherewith thi hert breke: haue mercy on vs.

Bi the openyng of thi side whith a spere, and the flowyng oute of thi most preciouse blode, smyght through goode lorde my hert, with the spere of thi godly loue: ande haue mercy on vs.

Bi that preciouse blode and water that rayne oute of thi most holy hert, washe and clense us in the same most holy water and blode from all oure synnys: and haue mercy on vs.

For that grete mercy that thou shewedist to longius the knyght, and to centurion, and all thi mercies that thou hast shewed euer to man: haue mercy on vs.

Bi the descendyng of thi holy soule to hell: haue mercy on vs.

Bi that myght and strength of thi blessid soule, wher by thou brekist the gates of hell and delyuerist the soules of thi frendis: haue mercy on vs.

For the takyng downe of thi most holy body from the crosse and the solempne beryeng therof, and grete lamentacion of thi blessed mother, mari mawdlen, and othir thi frendis: haue mercy on vs.

For all thi peynfull labours, werenes, sorowe and

heuynes, which thou suffrest from the day of thi natiuyte vnto the houre that thi soule deperdid fro thi body: haue mercy on vs.

For thi gloriouse resurrexioun in body and soule: haue mercy on vs.

For that ineffable joy and gladnes of thi blyssid modir, and odir thi frendis of thi gloriose resurreccyon: haue mercy on vs.

For that speciall grace wen thou didst apere in a gloriouse body after thi resurreccioun to mary mawdlen, and to odir women and to thi disciples: haue mercy on vs.

For thi wondirfull and gloriouse ascension, comfort vs good lord in all necessites: and haue mercy on vs.

For thi godly and comfortable sendyng of the holy goost in to thi disciples, comfort vs, halowe vs, strengthen vs in feyth, hope and charite: and haue mercy on vs.

For thi glori, and the diuine maieste and virtues of thi holy name, saue vs, and gouerne vs nowe and euer: and haue mercy on vs.

For the loue that restid both in thi godhed and manhede: haue mercy on vs.

For that joy wherby thou haste fruicion in selfe: haue mercy on vs.

For thi selfe and all goodnes and merites that thou beholdist both in thee, and in thi blyssid modir: haue mercy on vs.

For the ministrynge of seynt myghele, and my good angell deputid to my kepynge, and all other spirits of heuen: haue mercy on vs.

Bi the intercession and meritis of sent Peter, and Paule, and sent John euangeliste, and all thy apostles: haue mercy on vs.

Bi the meritis, and intercession of thi holy marteris, Laurence, Stephyn, and all other: haue mercy on vs.

Bi the meritis and prayers of holy fadirs and confessors, Austyn, Anthoni, and all oder: have mercy on vs.

Bi the meritis and prayers of sent Anne, Katerine, barbara, and all other holy vergyns, widews, and continent lyuers: have mercy on vs.

Bi the merites and prayers of all thi chosen sanctes, which be, haue be, and whiche be to come in heuen and in erthe: haue mercy on vs.

Succur vs, most swete Jesu, in that ferfull day of the streyte jugement, and graunt vs in this transitory lyfe all thyngis necessary to the helthe of body and soule, and after this lyfe to lyue and joy with thee euerlasting. Amen.

Domine, exaudi orationem meam.

Et clamor meus ad te veniat.

The .xv. oos in englysshe.[a]

I.

O JESU, endles swetnes of lovynge soules: O Jesu, ghostly joy passynge and excedynge all gladnes and desyres: O Jesu, helthe, and tender louer of repentaunt synners, that lykest for to duuelle as thou sayd thiselfe wyth the chyldren of men. For that was the cause why thou was incarnate, and made man in the ende of the worlde. Haue mynde, blessyd Jesu, of all the sorowes that thou souffred in thy manhode, drawynge nyghe too thy blessyd passyon. In the whiche moost holsome passyon, was ordeyned to the in thy dyuyne herte by counseyle of all the holy trynyte,

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[a] These xv Oos are taken from an edition of the "Horæ ad usum Sarum" by Regnault, Paris, 1527, 4to., [in my possession, 1846]: now in the British museum. The name may have been derived from each prayer, both in English and in Latin, beginning with the interjection O, or from *Orationes*, the "quindecim orationes" of the Latin books.

I have an edition of these prayers which I should suppose is rare, printed "at Antwerp for T. D. 1686," of which the title is, "The most devout prayers of St. Brigitte, touching the most holy Passion of our Saviour Jesus Christ. Composed by the aforesaid saint, by instinct of the Holy Ghost." Single sheet: 12mo. There is no preface, but a Douay "Approbation" at the end, dated 1653. It need scarcely be added that the translation is not that of the text but modern.

The "xv Oos" was printed by Caxton; a little book of a few pages only. A copy of this, the only one known, is in the British museum. It was found, bound in a thick volume with a number of other short tracts or pamphlets, about the year 1850.

for the raunson of all mankynde. Haue mynde blessyd Jesu of all the grete dredes, anguysshes, and sorowes, that thou suffred in thy tender flesshe afore thy passyon upon the crosse, whan thou was betrayed of thy discyple judas to the jewes, whiche of famylyer affectyon that thou hadde to theym, sholde haue been thy speciall people after tyme that thou hadd made thyn orysons and prayers, upon the mounte of olyuete, and swette bothe water and blode. And also haue mynde of the grete anguysshe that thou was in, whan thou was taken of the false jewes, and by false wytnesse. And at Jherusalem, in the tyme of Ester, in the flourynge youthe of thy body, without ony trespas thou receyued thy jugement of dethe upon the crosse, where also thou was dispoyled of thyn owne clothes, scorned, blynded, buffeted, bounde to a pyller and scourged, and with thornes crowned, and with a rodde smyten upon the heed, and with other inumerable paynes thy body was all to crusshed and torne. For mynde of thys blessyd passyon, I beseche the, benygne Jesu, graunte me afore my dethe very contrycyon, true confession, and satysfaccyon, and of all my synnes clene remyssyon. Amen. Pater noster. Ave.

ij. O Blessyd Jesu, maker of all the worlde, the of a man maye not be mesured, whiche closys in thy hande all the erthe, haue mynde of the bytter sorowe. Fyrst, whan the jewes fastned thy blessyd handes to the crosse with blunte nayles. Also, to the more encreasing of thy payne, they added sorowe upon sorowe to thy bytter woundes, whan they perced thy blessyd, tender, and swete fete, bycause that thou woldest not accorde to theyr wyll, and soo cruelly they drewe thy blessyd body in length and

brede to the mesure of the crosse, that all the joyntes of thy lymmes were bothe losed and forbroken. For the mynde of thy blessyd passyon, I beseche the, benygne Jesu, gyue me grace to kepe me with bothe thy love et thy drede. Amen. Pater noster. Ave maria, gratia plena, dominus tecum.

iij. O Jesu, heuenly leche, haue mynde of thy languor and blewnes of thy woundes, and sorowe that thou suffredde in the hyght of the crosse, whan thou were lyfte up fro the erth, that thou were all to torne in all thi lymmes: so that was no lymme abydinge in his ryght joynte, so thou noo sorowe was lyke to thyn, fro the sole of thy fote to the toppe of thy heed there was noo hole place. And yet forgetynge in maner all those greuous paynes, thou prayed deuoutely and charytably to thy fader, for thyn enemyes, saynge thus: fader forgyue yt them, for they knowe not what they doo. For this blessyd charytable mercy that thou shewed to thyn enemyes, and for mynde of these bytter paynes, graunte me that the mynde of this bytter passyon be to me plenary remyssyon, and forgyuenesse of my synnes. Amen. Pater noster. Ave.

iv. O Jesu, very fredome of aungelles, paradyse of all ghoostly delytes, haue mynde of the drede and hydeus ferefulnes that thou souffred, whan all thyne enemyes stode aboute the, and clypped the as wood lyons, smytynge the and spyttynge on the, sacratchynge the, and many other grete paynes puttynge to the. For mynde of all these despytefull wordes, cruel betynge and sharpe tormentes: I beseche the, blessyd Jesu, delyuer me from all myn

enemyes bodely and ghostly, and gyue me grace to have defence and protectyon of helth everlastynge, ayenst theyr wylles under the wynges of thy blessyd passyon. Amen. Pater noster. Ave maria.

v. O Jesu, blessyd myrrour of endles clerenes, Have minde of thy blessyd memoryall recorde: whan thou behelde in the myrroure of thy clere mageste, in predestynacyon of all thy chosen soules, that sholde be saved by the meryte of thy passyon, for mynde of the depnesse of thy grete mercy whiche thou haddest upon us, lost et desperate synners, and namely for the grete mercy whiche thou shewed to the thefe that hanged on thy ryght syde, sayenge unto hym thus: Thys daye thou shalte be with me in paradyse: I praye the, benygne Jesu, to shewe thy mercy to me in the houre of my dethe. Amen. Pater noster. Ave Maria gratia.

vj. O Blessyd Jesu, louable kynge, and frende in all thynge, Haue mynde of the sorowes that thou hadde whan thou hanged naked pyteously upon the crosse and all thy frendes and knowlege stode ayenst the: of whome thou founde no comforte, but onely of thy blessyd moder standynge with the, faythfully and truly all the tyme of thy bytter passyon, whan thou commaunded to thy discyple saynt John sayenge to her: Lo, woman, thy sone. For mynde of thys passyon, and namely for that sorowfull swerde, the whiche the tyme perced the sole of thy moder: I beseche the, blessyd Jesu, to have compassyon of my trybulacyons, and afflycyons bodyly and ghostly, and gyue me comforte in all my dyseases. Amen.

vij. O Blessyd Jesu, well of endlesse pyte, that

sayde upon the tree of the holy crosse at thy bytter passyon, by inwarde affeccyon of loue (I thurst) that is to saye, the helthe of mannes scule: for mynde of thys blessyd desyre, I beseche the, benygne Jesu, take hede to my desyre, that it may be perfyte in all good werkes. And quenche in me the thurste of all flesshely love and luste. Amen. Pater.

viij. O Blessyd Jesu, swetnes of hertes and goostly hony of soules, I beseche the for the bitternes of the aysell and gall that thou tasted and suffred for me in thy passyon, graunt me for to recyue worthely, holsomly, et devoutly in the houre of my dethe, thy blessyd body in the sacrament of the awter for remedy of my synnes, and comforte of my soule. Amen. Pater noster. Ave Maria.

ix. O Blessyd Jesu, royall strength and goostly joye: haue minde of the grete anguysshes, perturbacyons and sorowes that thou suffred for me, and for all mankynde, whan thou cryed unto thy fader with a myghty voyce, what for the bytternesse of thy deth, and also for the scornynge of the Jewes, saynge thus: O my God, why hast thou forsaken me: by thys paynfull anguysshe, forsake not us in the anguysshes of our dethe, our blessyd God. Amen. Pater noster.

x. O Blessyd Jesu, begynnynge and endynge lyfe, and strength in every place: haue mynde that fro the toppe of thy heed to the sole of thy fote, thou suffred for us to be drowned in the water of thy paynfull passyon, for mynde of this grete payne and namely for the depnes and wydenes of thy woundes: I beseche the, blessyd Jesu, whyche am drowned all in foule synne, teche me thy large pre-

cepte and commaundement of loue. Amen. Pater noster. Ave Maria gratia plena.

xi. O Blessyd Jesu, depnes of endles mercy: I beseche the for the depenesse of thy woundes, that wente through thy tender flesshe, thy bowlles, and the mary of thy bones, that it shall please the to drawe me out of synne, and hyde me ever after in the holes of thy woundes, frome the face of thy wrath: unto tyme, Lorde, that thy dredefull dome be passed. Amen. Pater noster. Ave Maria.

xij. O Blessyd myrroure of trouth, taken of unite, and louesome bonde of charyte: haue mynde of thyn innumerable paynes and woundes, with the wiche fro the toppe of thy heed to the sole of thy fote thou was wounded, and of the wycked jewes thou was all to torne and rente, and all thy body thou suffred to be reed with thy moost clene blessyd blode. The wiche grete sorowe, Jesu, in thy clene virginall body thou suffred, what myght thou doo more for us than thou dyde. Therfore, benygne Jesu, for the mynde of thys passyon wryte all thy woundes in my herte, with thy precious blode, that I may bothe red in them thy drede, and thy loue, and that I may contynue in praysynge and in thankynge the to my lyues ende. Amen. Pater noster.

xiij. O Blessyd Jhesu, moost mekest lyon, myghtyest kyng immortall, and moost vyctoryous: Haue mynde of the sorowe whyche thou suffred, whan all the myghtes of thy herte and body fayled unto the uterly: and than thou sayde, inclynyng thy heed thus: Now it is all done. For mynde of that anguysse and sorowe, blessyd Jhesu, haue mercy on me in my last ende, whan my soule shall be an-

guysshed and my spyryte troubled. Amen. Pater noster.

xiv. O Blessyd Jhesu, the onely begoten sone of almyght God thy fader, and shynynge lykenes of his fygurall substaunce: Haue mynde of thy meke commendynge whan thou commende thy spyryte into the handes of thy fader: and so thou lost thy bodyly lyfe with a grete crye, and with a torne body, et broken herte, shewynge to us for oure raunsome the bowelle of thy mercy. For mynde of that precyous deth, I beseche the, kynge of the blessyd soules, conforte me to withstande the fende, the worlde, and the flesshe, that I may be deed to the worlde, and lyuynge ghoostly towarde the: and in the last houre of my departynge from thys worlde, receyue my soule cominge to the: whiche in thys lyfe is an outlawe or a pylgrym. Amen. Pater noster. Ave Maria.

xv. O Blessyd Jesu, very and true plenteous vyne, haue mynde of thy passyon and habundaunte shedynge of blode, that thou shest moost plenteously, as yf it had ben threst out of a rype clustre of grapes. Whan they pressed thy blessyd body as a rype clustre upon the pressoure of the crosse, and gaue us drynke bothe blode and water out of thy body, perced with a knyghtes spere, so that in thy blessyd body was not left one droppe of blode, ne of water, than at the last as a bundell of myrre thou hanged on the crosse on hyghe, where as thy tendre flesshe chaunged his coloure: bycause the lycoure of thy bowelles and the mary of thy bones was dryed up. For mynde of thys bytter passyon, swete Jesu, wounde my herte: and that my soule may be fedde swetely with water of penaunce, and teres of love,

bothe nyght and day. And, good Jesu, tourne me holy to the, that my herte may be euer to the a dwellynge place, and that my lyuynge may be euer pleasaunt and acceptable: et that the ende of my lyfe may be so commendable, that I maye perpetually deserve for to prayse the with all sayntes in blys. Amen. Pater noster.

Two deuoute prayers in englisshe to Iesu.[3]

O GLORIOUS Iesu, o mekest Iesu, o most swetest Iesu, I praye thee that I may haue trew confessyon, contricion, and satisfaction, or I dye: and that I may see and receyue thy holy body, god and man, sauyour of alle mankynde, crist Iesu, wythoute synne: and that thou wylt, my lord god, forgeue me all my synnes for thy glorious woundes: and that I may ende my lif in the trew faith of holy chirch, and in perfight loue and charite wyth my euen cristen as thy creature: and I commend my soule in to thy holy handes, thurgh the glorious helpe of thy blessyd moder of mercy our lady saint mary, and alle the holy companye of heuen. Amen.

¶ The holy body of Crist Iesu be my saluation of body and soule. Amen.

¶ The glorious blod of Christe Iesu bring my soule and body in to the euerlasting blisse. Amen.

I crye god mercy. I crye god mercy. I crye god mercy. Welcom, my maker. Welcom, my redemer. Welcom, my sauyour. I crie the mercy, with hert contrit of my gret unkindenesse that I haue had to the.

O the most swetest spouse of my sowle, Christ Iesu, desiring hertely euermore for to be wyth thee in mynde and wylle, and to lete no erthely thyng be soo nygh myn herte as thou, crist Iesu, and that

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[3] From the Horæ ad usum Sarum, Paris, Simon Vostre, 1508, 8vo. [in my possession, 1846]: now in the British museum.

I may euermore saye to the with a glad chere, my lord, my god, my souerain sauyour, criste Iesu: I biseche thee hertili take me synner unto thy gret mercy and grace, for I loue thee wyth al my herte, wyth al my mynde, and wyth al my myght, and nothing so much in erthe ne aboue erthe as I doo thee, my swete lord, crist Iesu. And for that I haue not loued thee and worshypped thee aboue al thyng as my lord, my god and sauyour crist Iesu, I biseche thee wyth mekenesse and hert contrit, of mercy and of forgeuenesse of my gret unkyndnesse, and for the gret loue that thou sheddest for me and alle mankynde, what tyme thou offredest thy gloriouse body, god and man, vnto the crosse ther to be crucifyed and wounded, and vnto thy glorious hert a sharp spere, ther rennyng out plantyously blood and water for the redemption and saluacyon of me, and alle mankynde: and thus hauyng remembraunce stedfastly in myne herte of thee, my sauyour criste Iesu. ¶ I doubte not but thou wylt be ful nyghe me and conforte me bothe bodely and goostly wyth thy gloriouse presence and at the last brynge me unto thyn euerlastynge blysse: whiche shall neuer haue ende. Amen.

Two other deuoute prayers in Englysshe.

O BLESSYD trinyte, Fader, sone, and holy ghoost: thre persones, and one god, I byleue with my herte, and confesse with my mouth, al that holy chirche bileueth and haldeth of thee: and as moch as a good catholike and cristen man ought to fele and bileue of thee: and I proteste here before thi maieste, that I wyl lyue and deye in thys fayth,

and continue al my lyf. And I knowlech thee, my good fader and maker of al the world, and me thy poure creature, subgette, and seruaunte. And make tho the faith and homaige of my body and of my soule, whiche I holde of thee nobly, as of my souerain lorde and god: with alle the goodes natural, spiritual, and temporal, that I haue and that euer I hadde: and that I entende to haue of thee in thys worlde here and in that other: and wyth al my hert I remercye and thanke thee. And in the sygne of recognisaunce and knowleche, I praye [*paye?*] to thee thys lytel tribute on the mornyng, and on the euenyng thys: that I adoure and worship thee with hert and mouth, in feith, in hope and in charite, wyth thys lytel oryson and prayer, whyche alle apperteyneth to thy blessid maieste, seignorie and diuinite, and humbly require thee of thre thynges. The fyrst, is mercy and forgyueness of as many euylles and vyllain synnes, as I haue doon and commysed in thyme passed agenst thy wylle. The secounde, plese thee to gyue me grace, that I may serue thee and fulfille thy commaundementis, withoute to renue ne to falle in to dedly synne. The thyrd is, that at my deth and at my gret nede [thou] wylt socoure me: and gyue me grace that I may haue remembraunce of the blessid passion, and contricion of my synnes: and that I may deye in thyn holy faith, and finably may com to the glorie eternal, wyth alle the sainctes of heuen. Amen.

O Lord god almyghty, al seeing, al thinges knowyng: wysedom and sapience of al thing: I, poure synner, make thys day in despite of the fende of helle, protestation, that yf aduenture bi ony temptacion, deception, or variacyon comyng by sorowe or

peyne or seknesse or by ony feblenesse of body: or by ony other occasion, whatsomeuer it be, that I falle or declyne in peril of my soule, or preiudyce of my helthe, or in errour of the holy faith catholike: in the whiche I was regenerate in the holy fonte of baptesme. Lord god, in good minde, in which I hold me nowe by thy grace (wherof wyth al my hert I thanke thee) that errour wyth my power I resiste, and here renounce, and of the same me confesse, in protestyng that I wyll lyue and deye in the fayth of holy chirch our moder, and thin espouse. And in wytnesse of this confession and protestation, and in despite of the fend of helle, I offre to thee the Credo, in whyche alle veryte and trouthe is conteyned. And to thee I recommaunde my soule, my feythe, my lyf and my deth. Amen. Credo in Deum.

The prayer of saint Thomas of Aquine.[4]

THE prayer of Saynt Thomas of Aquyne, translatyd oute of latyn ynto Englyshe, by the moste exselent Prynces, Mary, doughter to the moste hygh and myghty Prynce and Prynces kyng Henry the viii. and Quene Kateryn hys wyfe. In the yere of oure lorde god M.cccccxxvii: And the xi. yere of here age.

O MERCYFULL God, graunte me to couyt wyth an ardent mynde, those thingys whiche may please the, to serche them wysely, to know them truly, and to fulfyll them perfytely, to the laude and glory of thy name. Order my lyuyng, that I may do that whiche thou requirest of me, and geue me grace that I may know yt and haue wyll and powre to do it, and that I may obtayne those thingis, whiche be moste conuenient for my sowle. Good Lorde, make myway sure and streight to the, that I fayle not betwene prosperite and aduersyte, but that in prosperous thingis I may geue the thankys, and in aduersite be pacient: soo that I be not lyfte

[4] This prayer is written upon the two leaves, originally blank, at the end of the MS. horæ in my possession [1846], which contains several royal autographs, and of which I have given an account in the dissertation on service books. Below the prayer is a short sentence in the handwriting of Mary signed "Marye," probably followed by "princesse" which has been erased; as well as the words "Prynces" and "Quene Kateryn hys wyfe," in the title to the prayer: but fortunately these last are still legible through the ink with which they have been blotted.

This remarkable and most interesting volume is now in the British museum.

wyth the oon, nor oppressid with thother: and that I may reioyse yn nothing but in this whiche movith me to the, nor be sory for nothing but for those whiche drawith me frome the: Desiring to please nobody, nor fering to displese anny besidis the. Lorde, let all worldly thingis be vile to me, for the: and that all thi thingis be dere to me. And thou, good Lorde, moost speciall above them all. Let me be wery withe that Joye whiche is withoute the, and let me desire nothing besidis the. Let the labor delite me whiche is for the, and let all the rest wery me whiche is not in the. Make me to lyfte my harte oftyntymys to the: and when I fall, make me to think and be sory with a stedfast purpose of amendement. My God, make me humble withoute faynyng, mery withoute lyghtnes, Sade withoute mystruste. Sobir withoute dulnes: Fearing withoute dysparacion: Gentill withoute doblenes: Trusting in the withoute presumpcyon: Telling my neybors fawtis withoute mokking: Obedyent withoute arguyng: Pacient withoute grutching: And pure without corrupcion. My most louyng Lorde and God, geue me a waking hart, that no curyous thought withdrawe me frome the. Let it be so strong, that no unworthy affeccion drawe me bakwarde: So stable, that no tribulacion breke it: And so free, that no electyon by vyolence make anny chalenge to it. My Lorde God, graunt me wytt, to know the: Dilygence, to seke the: Wisedome, to finde the: Conuersacion, to please the: Contynuance, to loke for the: and fynally Hope, to enbrace the: by thi penaunce here to be ponysshid, and in oure wey to use thi benefittis by thy grace. And in heuyn, through thi glory, to haue delyte in thy Joies and rewardys. Amen.

Prayers to the Proper Angel.

In the Salisbury horæ and prymers is commonly to be found an office to the "Proper Angel;" that is, prayers addressed to the invisible being who is supposed to be attendant upon every individual Christian as his guardian and protector; and advocate also before the Almighty Father. So our blessed Lord Himself has spoken: "Take heed that ye despise not one of these little ones; for I say unto you, That in heaven their angels do always behold the face of My Father which is in heaven." S. Matt. c. xviij. v. 10.

The collect for the day of St. Michael and all angels, still used in the Common prayer book, can be traced through the York, Sarum, and Hereford missals, not only to the time of bishop Leofric but to a very remote period. I take the following from the famous manuscript at Durham, of about the year 800:—

"Deus, qui miro ordine angelorum ministeria hominumque dispensas, concede propitius, ut quibus tibi ministrantibus in cœlo semper assistitur, ab his in terra nostra vita muniamur."[5]

I shall extract, first, this office from the Horæ ad usum Sarum, edit. 1531; and next, two prayers to the Proper Angel, from MSS. in the library of the British museum.

¶ *A prayer to thy proper aungel. Antiphona.*

ANGELE qui meus es custos, pietate superna:
Me tibi commissum, salva, defende, guberna.
O tu dulcis angele, qui mecum moraris,
Licet personaliter mecum non loquaris:
Animam cum corpore precor tuearis,
Tuum hoc est officium, ad quod assignaris.
Vers. O beate angele, nuntie Dei nostri.
Resp. Actus meos regula ad votum Dei altissimi.

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[5] Rituale ecc. Dunelm. p. 71.

Oratio. Deus, qui sanctorum angelorum tuorum aliquos tibi benigne concedis assistere: et aliquos jubes hic in terris hominibus misericorditer ministrare, concede propitius: sic angelum mihi commissum ad custodiam me in bonis dirigere, ad virtutes assidue excitare, et a peccatorum voragine potentissime liberare, quatenus in districto judicio quando fiet unum ovile hominum ac etiam angelorum, sub tanto pastore merear inter sui gregis pecora numerari. Per.

ℭ *An other prayer to thy proper aungell.*

O SANCTE angele Dei, minister cœlestis imperii, cui Deus omnipotens mei custodiam deputavit: per majestatem ejus et pietatem te humiliter deprecor, ut custodias animam meam et corpus meum: et omnes sensus meos a pravis et illicitis desideriis: a noxiis, vanis, et immundis cogitationibus, et ab illusionibus malignorum spirituum: a pollutione mentis et corporis: et ab insidiis inimicorum meorum visibilium et invisibilium quærentium animam meam: et sis mihi protector tutus, ubicunque iero diebus ac noctibus, horis atque momentis, et conserva me in mundo opere: et confirma me in timore et amore Jesu Christi cum sanctis desideriis: et post hanc miseram et caducam vitam perduc animam meam ad æternam felicitatem: ubi cum Deo et omnibus sanctis gaudeat sine fine: præstante Domino nostro Jesu Christo: cui est honor et gloria in sæculorum sæcula. Amen.

To the propre angell a devoute prayer.[6]

OH Gloryous angell, to whom our blessyd lord of his most mercyfull grace hath taken me to kepe: to thee, I, synful creature, crye and calle, with hertely mynde, besechyng the euer to be singuler comfort to me in all my nede. Suffer me neuer to be ouer come with tentacyon or synful dede, but helpe me, that by grace I may euer in vertuous livynge procede. At the hour of my deth be present, that my gostly enemy in me haue noo power. And after bryng me to the blysse, where euer with the I may lyve and prayse our saviour. Amen.

A Prayer to the proper Angel.[7]

A GOOD curtyes aungell ordyned to my gouernale, I knowe wele my feblenes and my unconnyng. Also wel I wote that strenght haue I none to do goddes seruyce, but only of his grace, and of yowr besy kepyng. The connynge that I haue cometh no thynge of me, but what god wyll sende me be yowr good entysynge. Now good gracyous aungell, I aske yow lowely mercy, for lytell hede I haue takyn of your good besynes, but now I thanke you as I can, with full herte besechyng you that ye kepe me truely this day, and euermore, slepynge and wakyng with syker defendyng and your holy techeynge. Defende me and kepe me from bodely hermes, defende me and kepe me from goostly perelys, to goddes worchippe and sauyng of my soule. Teche me and

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[6] Harleian MS. 2445, fol. 138. [7] Ib. 92.

wysshe me my wyttes for to dyspende, most to goddes worchipe and pleasynge, fede me with deuocyon and sauour of goostly swetnes, conforte me whan nede is ayenst my ghoostly enemes, and suffre me not to lese thi grace that ys grantyd me, but of your worthy offyce kepe me in goddes seruyce to my lyues hende. And after the passynge of the body, presente my soule unto the mercyfull god: for though I fall alday by myn owne freelte, thou I take in wyttnes that euer I hope in mercy. Gladly wolde I worship the and i myght to you: lykyng therefore god to worship for you, thou also in hym after his holy techeyng, I thank hym with holy prayer. Pater noster. Et ne nos. Sed libera nos a malo. Amen.

Form of Confession.[8]

¶ Here folowth certayne questyons, what is synne, with the ordre and forme of confessyon.

FYRST: what is penitence?

Penitence is the emendacyon of the lyfe, with inwarde contricyon of hert for the synne committed: with a full purpose neuer to do the synne agayn.

¶. What is the effect of penitence?

Penitence maketh aungelles gladde: justyfyeth wyketh personnes: calleth agayn the goodnes lost: et draweth mankynde unto everlastynge lyfe.

¶. How many necessary thynges belonge to penitence?

Five.

¶. Which ben they?

Hope of forgyuenes: contricyon of herte: confessyon of the faute: fulfyllyng of such thynges as the

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[8] These questions and order of confession are taken from a "Prymer of Salysbury vse, ... newly enprynted at Rowen. M.ccccc.xxxviij." 8vo. They are not uncommon, and may be found in several editions of about the same date.

I have corrected one or two typographical errors: the "et" for "and" is frequent in books of the kind printed abroad, and (as before) I have not altered it. One liberty I have taken with the text, viz. to omit a short passage from the form of confession of lechery. It is not material, and if some may think so they may refer to the book itself: anyhow, there seemed to be no absolute necessity for here reprinting every word.

preest shall commaunde et enjoyne : et utterly to forsake synne.

¶. How is synne auoyded ?

By auoydynge occasyon thereof: as is pleasure : the beholdynge of the wanton playes : euyll company : and such other.

¶. Who shall neuer be forgyuen ?

He that forgyueth not to other : and he that to his power wyll not restore agayne thynges wrongfully taken.

¶. How prouest thou that ?

For it is sayed in the Pater noster, dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris. Good lorde forgyue us as we forgyue. And saynt Augustin sayth : Non dimittit peccatum nisi restituat ablatum. The synne is neuer forgyuen tyll the thynge wrongfully taken be restored. Therfore whan we offende in worde or in dede, we ougth to our power make satisfaccion. And what euyll wyll : malyce : or hatred we haue conceyued agaynst ony, we sholde put it out of our mynde : to the ende that our confessyon may be acceptable to god.

¶. What is confessyon ?

Confessyon is the declaracyon of synne before a preest : or any other in necessite.

¶. Under what maner ougth the confessyon be ?

True : of thy propre synnes, hole : spedefull : ofte sure : manerly : voluntarely : clere : wyth suche deliberacyon, that it may playnly be understande, and with so grete contrycyon that it may make the sory, and heuy to have committed those synnes : fully myndynge never to retourne to theym agayne, and so forthe surely purposynge to do penaunce.

¶. What sholde I do, willyng to be confessed ?

Before all thynges in thy bendde chambre or other secrete place, moche and often tymes thynke by thy selfe: where: how: whan: with whome, how many tymes, and how enormely thou hast synned: wether in spekynge, consente, wyll, or dede: what good dede thou lefte wiche thou oughtest to have done. Nor it is not sufficyent to confesse the a lyer: but thou muste hole expresse what yll hath folowed upon that lye. Nor thou shalt not onely say, I have synned in glotony, but thou must tell how moche, wether thou were dronken, or dydest vomyte, &c., in what place it was, and how oft. And whan thou diligently by thyselfe hast discussed and considered all thynges, than go thou to the preest with grete reverence, and not as thou woldest tele a tale. And after the sygne of the crosse made upon thy brest, say, Benedecite. Than after a fewe wordes speken of the preest, thou shalt procede in this maner, Confiteor Deo cœli, etc.: tyll thou come to mea culpa. Than begynde to declare how thou hast synned. Fyrst in thought, after in spekynge: lastely, in warke and omyssion. In warke in the seven deedly synnes, in the synnes agaynst the holy goost. etc. Omyssion in the commaundementes and warkes of mercy. etc.

¶. What is synne?

There are two latyn wordes for synne, one called peccatum, that other delictum. Peccatum is the synne whan we be dysobedient to the commaundementes of god. Delictum is the synne whan we leave a good warke undone, the whiche we ought to have done: but the difference of these two latyn wordes are almoost confounded.

¶. How many maner of synnes are there?

Thre. Orygynall synnes of our holy father, Adam,

whiche is put alwaye by baptym. Veniall, redy alwaye to be forgyuen, also without confessyon. Mortall synne, whiche without confessyon and penaunce ledeth man to euerlastynge dethe.

¶. How many mortale synnes ben there?

Seuen. Pryde, wrathe, enuy, glotony, lechery, slouth, and couetyse.

¶. Whiche ben the synnes agaynst the holy goost?

Pertinacite, stryuynge agaynst trinyte: bycause god is mercyfull to synners: despere of the forgyueness of god: obstynacyon in euyll hatred and enuy of thy neyghbours vertue: inuidence despysynge of penaunce.

¶. Whiche ben synnes causyng euylles for to be done?

Irritacyon, consent, counsell, laudacyon, permissyon, socoure, and also participacyon.

¶. Whiche ben the synnes cryenge before god for vengaunce?

Manslaughter, synne agaynst nature, oppressyon of poore people, and withholdynge of dettes.

¶. Whiche ben the circumstaunces augmentynge synnes?

Ordre, tyme, scyence, age, condicyon, nombre, abydynge, abondaunce, cause, maner, dignyte, and weyke resistence. etc.

¶. And than begynne your confessyon after, in this maner.

¶. The forme of confessyon.

Fyrst, I knowlege my selfe gylty unto Almyghty God, unto our lady saynt Mary: and to all the company of heuen: and to you my goostly father: that syth the tyme of my laste confessyon, I haue offended

my lord God greuously, and specially in the seuen deedly synnes.

¶. Pryde.

I haue synned in pryde of herte, not lowly thankynge God of gyftes and connynge whiche he hath lent me. Also I haue synned in pryde of clotynge: in strength: in eloquence: in beaute: in proude wordes. Wherof I cry God mercy.

¶. Enuy.

¶. Also I haue synned in enuy, herynge ony man more praysed than I, or better cherisshed with his souerayne than I, or he had more prosperyte than I, and whan I have mys-answered myn euen chrysten reioysynge. Wherof I cry God mercy.

¶. Wrathe.

¶. Also I haue synned in wrathe: as in rygour of herte agaynst myn euen crysten: whether it were lytell mater or greate, and for euery worde I wylled to be auenged on them and answered them with euyll wordes: and ofte smyten them. Wherof I cry God mercy.

¶. Slouthe.

¶. Also I haue synned in slouthe: and specyally in heuynes of hert: and delyted me in idle thoughtes and ymaginacyons of the world and my flesshe, not thankynge God of his benefyte, neyther beynge sory for my synnes, nor occupyed my selfe in good prayers nor holy meditacyons, for the comforte of my soule. Wherof I cry God mercy.

¶. Couetyse.

¶. Also I haue synned in couetyse by unlefull desyre of worldly goodes, in misspendynge and unreasonably kepyng of theym: and I haue ouermoche desyred welth and prosperite, and more worldly

worshyp and richesse than I had, and grutched at tribulacyons, aduersyte and pouerte. Wherof I cry God mercy.

¶. Glotony.

¶. Also I haue synned in glotony by unreasonable lustes of metes and drynkes, more for flesshely luste than for bodyly sustenaunce, and I haue done grete excesse of metes and drynkes, so that nature mygth not ber it, wherby I was the worse dysposed to serve my lorde God, and the more styred to synne, wrath, and wrethchednes. Wherof I cry God mercy.

¶. Lechery.

¶. Also I haue synned in lechery, by thought of fylthy lustes and unclennes, sometyme in dede done. Wherof I cry God mercy.

¶. The .x. commaundementes.

¶. Also I haue synned in brekynge of the .x. commaundementes. I haue not loued my lorde God aboue all thynge, nor my neygbours as myselfe. I haue customably sworne by my lorde God, by his name in vayne, by his swete body, and his sayntes all. I haue not halowed the feestes and holy dayes commaunded by the cyrche. I haue not done dewe reverence to my fader and moder, nor to my goostly fader, nor folowed theyr techynge. I haue synned in backbytynge myn euen cristen, in appayringe of theyr good name and defylynge them with my wordes. I have harmed my neygbours, takynge theyr goodes agaynst theyr wyll by wronge. I haue synned flesshely with persones that ben wedded and other moo, and more wolde yf I myght haue had tyme and place. I haue borne fals wytnes agaynst myn euen christen. I haue coveyted to haue my

neyghbours wyfe, doughter or seruaunt, and wolde yf I had myght. I haue inordinatly coueyted the goodes of my neyghbours, contrary to the lawes of God. Wherof I cry God mercy.

¶. The .v. wyttes.

¶. Ferthermore I haue synned in myspendyng of my .v. wyttes, that is to say, in syght of eyen, tastynge of mouth, herynge of eres, smellynge of nose, touchynge of handes and fete, and with other membres of the body. Wherof I cry God mercy.

¶. The .vii. werkes of mercy bodyly.

¶. Also I haue synned, in not fulfyllynge of the .vii. werkes of mercy bodyly, by wyll, power and dede. I haue not clothed the naked. I haue not gyuen drynke to the thyrsty. I haue not fedde the hungry. I haue not visited the prisoners and the seke. I haue not departed of my goodes to the poore. I haue not harboured the harborlesse. I haue not buryed the deed, accordyng to the commaundementes of God. Wherof I cry God mercy.

¶. The .vii. werkes of mercy goostly.

¶. Also I haue synned in not fulfyllyng the .vii. werkes of mercy spirytuall. I haue not gyuen conseyle to them that had nede. I haue not taught the ignoraunt. I haue not discretely correked them that had offended. I haue not conforted them that haue ben in heuynes. I haue not forgyuen them that haue mysdone or myssayd by me. I haue not pacyently suffred them that haue reproued me. I haue not deuoutly prayed to God for my neyghbour, to gyue hym grace to amende his synfull lyuynge, and continue in vertue.

¶. The .vii. gyftes of the holy goost.

¶. Also I haue not used the gyftes of the holy

Goost to the honour of God: as the gyfte of understandynge: the gyfte of wysdome: the gyfte of counseyle: the gyfte of science: the gyfte of strength: the gyfte of pyte: and the gyfte of drede. Wherof I cry God mercy.

¶. The .vii. sacramentes.

¶. Also I haue not gyuen tankes to our Lorde for the .vii. sacramentes. As the sacrament of baptym: of confirmation: of penaunce: of the body of our Lorde: of wedlocke: of preesthode: and of enelynge. Wherof, beynge repentaunt, I cry God mercy.

¶. The .viii. beatitudes.

¶. Also I haue not disposed me to the .viii. beatitudes: as pouerte of spiryte, perfyte mekenes in aduersite, perfyte mekenes in prosperyte, lust of ryghtwysnesse, perfyte mercy, clennesse of hert, peas in desyre, ioyful suffraunce of persecucyon in the cause of vertue. Wherof I cry God mercy.

¶. Of these and all other, knowen and not knowen, that euer I dyde, syth I was borne unto this daye, I aske God mercy: and moost mercyfull Lorde God, I yelde me gylty unto the, and utterly put me unto thy grace, pyte and mercy: and I praye you, my goostly fader, to be bettwene my synne and me: that God of his mercy forgyue me for this lowely confessyon, that I may be frede from my goostly ennemy, and optayn the endles blysse that God hath bought me to. Ideo deprecor, etc.

A compendius forme of dayly confessions.[9]

CONFITEOR Deo etc. cogitatione, locutione, opere et omissione. Specyally I haske God mercy that I haue not kepytt his commandments, and the councellis of the gospell, nott lowyd hym, dred hym, and wirshippd hym, as I awght to do with my hole hart, mynde and wyll, and strengges, with body and sawle, aboue all creaturs: not thangkyd hym of his benefetts, and the grace that he hays gyffyn vnto me, as I shulde haue doyn.

¶ Also that I haue nott luffyd my bretherne and myn ewyn crystyn, dewly after the order of charite.

¶ Also that I haue not kepyd the statuts of oure order: specyally the hede vowes of religion. In forsakyn myn awne wyll be true obedience, cleyn chastyte, and wylfull pouerte, with all other observance of the order, as syght, sylence and cell, the stall and bell, inclinacyons, veneis and prostracyons: nor byn so obediant to my sowerayns and my bretherne as schuld be, nor to thayr concellys, and techyngs, nor sufferd thayme pacyently for godds sake.

¶ Also in the vij dedly synnys and in the branches of thayme: first of pride, I haue exaltyd my selffe in the gudds of grace, forton and nature, and reputyd my selffe aboue myn astate and vertu, and styrrynges of wayne glorie and of all other spices of pride. I aske god mercy. In ire and enuy, not

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[9] MS. in the British museum, Nero A. 3, p. 136 *b*; originally written for some religious house. Compare Harleian 170.

so charitabbyl and sufferants as I schuld be. &c. Also in couats, I haue hayd dysordynate luff to warldly gudds, and honors. &c.

¶ In glotony, I haue nott kapyd so dew tyme and messure in etyng and drynkyng, bot foloyng my carnall sensualite with more delectacyon and excesse than I aught to do, I aske god mercy. In sclawths, the service of god and oure lady I haue hard, sayd, songyn, necligently and vndewowtly, and mayd mony defawts. And my mynd and hart ofte tymes withdrawyn thar fro, by ymaginacyons of vice and wanyte. &c. Also vyle styrrynges of lechery, vncleyn thoghts and delectacyons, that I haue nott laburet agayne so sone and perfytly as I aught to do. I aske god mercy. &c. The vij warks of mercy, bodely and gostly, after my power and astate. I haue nott fulfyllyd specyally nor occupyed my tyme in prayer, meditacyon, lecture and gud operacyon, as I myght haue doyn. I aske god mercy.

¶ The vij sacraments of holy churche I haue not reuerently mynisteryt, and receywyd. I aske god mercy. &c. And specyally at masse, not treytinge that holy sacrament with so gret dewoycyon, dred and reuerence, nor prayed so dewoytly for oure founders, frendys and benefactors, and all other qwyke and dede as I aught to do. I aske god mercy. &c. And of all forgettyn synnys, and forgettyn penance, I aske god mercy.

¶ And where I haue offendyd in any artikyll of the faythe of holy churche, I aske God mercy. Also my v. wytts that I haue myspendyd. And of all ydyll words that I haue spokyn, or sylence brokyn lesse or more, at vnconvenyent tyme and place with bretherne or seculers. &c. I aske god mercy. Of

these and of all other, as farre as god knawys me gyltye, I knawe my selffe gylty, and I aske god mercy, oure lady sanct mary, and all the courts of hewyn. Et te pater orare pro me.

Alia nota de confessione.[10]

AFTER the sayng of sanct Bernarde and other holy doctors, when any man vsyth to confesse dayly or ofte tymes, he shulde nott make a longe confession, but short, of syche as hys conscience is most grewyde with. And first of dydly synnys, and thoo that he is in dowt, whether they be dedly or weniall: and secundly of suche wenyall syns in generall that can nott well be expressyd specyally, as thes be: ydyll words, vane thoghts, necligence, dulnes in redyng or prayng, losse of tyme, distraccyon of hart or wandyng mynd in sayng his service or other prayers, vnthankfullnes of the gudnes of god, more besy for the body then nede ware, lyght turbacyons agayns hys neyhburs, lyght judging of other men, lyght suspicyon, to be nott content with all that god dothe. And nott to vse the grace and gyfts that god hathe gyffyn hym, with other suche that can not be flede and well forborne, of a febyll and a wake sawle. When it suffers suche agayns it wyll, they are bott lyght and veniall. Neverlesse thay wolde be confessyd in generall. etc.

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[10] From the same manuscript.

Confiteor Deo cæli. &c.[11]

I KNOWLECHE to God of heuene, and vnto the blessid Marye, and vnto alle his halewis: and unto thee, fadre, that I wreche synner, haue synned to moche, in thenking, spekyng, delityng, consentynge, in siȝte, worde, and work: blame, thoruȝ my greatest blame. Therefore I preye the, blessid virgyne Marye, and alle the halowes of God, and thee, fadre, preye for me vnto God, that he haue mercy of me.

Misereatur tui. &c. The alle myȝty God haue mercy of thee, and forȝeue to thee alle thy synnes: delyuere thee of alle yuele: saue and conferme thee in euery good werk: and lede thee to aylastyng lif: so mote it be. Amen.

[11] From the Douce MS. 246 in the Bodleian library.

A recommendation to God at night.[12]

IN manus tuas. Lord, I bitake in to thine hondes, and in to thine hondis (*sic*) of thine halwen, in this nyght my soule and my bodi, myne bretheren and myne sustren, myne frendes, myne cosines, myne kynrede, my goode dedes doares, and alle cristen folk: kepe vs, lord, this nyght, bi the medes and the prayeres of the blessede mayde marie, and of alle halwen, fram vices and couertises, fram sinnes and fram the fendes fondinges, and fram the sodayn deth, and the peynes of helle. Alyghte myne herte of the holi gost, and of thin holi grace: and make me for to ben more bouxom to thi comaundemens, and let me neuere more ben be departed fro the: so be it.

[12] From MS. "S. 30" in St. John's college, Cambridge: of the fifteenth century.

The Form of the Greater Excommunication.

I THINK there can be little doubt that the "Commination" which is read in English parish churches on the first day of Lent was taken from this Form. To the best of my remembrance the fact has not been noticed by any of the commentators upon the book of Common prayer. But in 1847 I drew attention to it in a review of archdeacon Hale's Precedents from the ecclesiastical courts.

The Form of the Greater Excommunication.[1]

Isti sunt generales articuli majoris excommunicationis in lingua materna, et dicantur hoc modo.

GODEMEN and wymmen, it is ordeyned by the counseil of all holi chirche: First of our holy fader the pope of Rome, and his cardinalis, and all his counseil, sithen of all archebisshopes and all the clergie, that every man of holy chirche that hath soule for to kepe, sholde shewe among them foure sithe bi yere, the articles that ben writen in the general sentence, that is for to seyn,

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[1] From a copy of the Sarum manual in the Bodleian library, 4to. Paris, Regnault, 1530.

The Form according to the York use is reprinted in the edition of the York manual by the Surtees society, p. 119.

In the Cotton MS. Claudius A. ii. is a curious set of verses, preceding a form of the Greater excommunication:—

"Þe grete sentens I wryte þe here.
þt foure tymes in þe ȝere,
yu schalte pronownce withowtyn lette.
Whan þe parich is to gydur mette,
yu schalte pronownce hydowse þinge
wit cros and candul and belle knyllynge.
þe furste sononday afftur Myȝhell feste,
mydlenton sonday schal be neste.
þe trenite feste is þe þridde os I þe say.
þe ferthe is þe sononday, aftur candulmesday.
sepelle hit reddely for noȝte yu wonde,
þt alle men þe undurstande.
Gode men þeis poyntus and articles þt I wille schewe yow of cursyng bene stabullud and ordeynud, etc." fol. 123 *b*.

Another and shorter set of preliminary verses is in the Douce manuscript 103 in the Bodleian.

the pointhes that longen to the great curs: that on is the fyrst sonday of Advent, that other is the first sonday of lenten, and the nexte sonday after Witsonday, and the first sonday after the assumpcyon of our lady.

Of two maner of cursinge, holy chirche telleth: that on is cal'd the lesse curs, that other is cal'd the more curs: and this moste openly be taught unto lewed men, that they may knowe perfitly the michef therof, that no man sholde have matere to excuse him by.

Wherfor ye shal understande atte the begynnyng that this worde, cursynge, is thus miche to say: as a depertinge fro God and all goode workes. That, we call the lesse curs, is of this strength, that every man and woman that falleth ther inne, it depertet them fro all the sacramentis that ben in holy chirche, that they may none of them recyue till that thei ben asoiled.

¶ The more curs is miche wers, and is of this strength: for it deperteth a man fro God, and fro holy chirche, and also fro the companie of all christen folk, neuer to be saued be the passion of Crist, ne to be holpen by the sacramentis that ben done in holy chirche, ne to have part in prayer with no cristen man, as witnesseth wel seynt Austyn.

Clerkes seyn that a child byfore it be cristned, it hath a wikked spirit dwelling in the soule. The wiche wikkede spirit is conjured, and cast out thorough prayers of the prest, by fore the chirche dore whanne it shal be cristned:[2] the wiche

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[2] See vol. i. p. 1 in the Order "Ad faciendum Catechumenum."

sacrament of bapteme is ground and begynnyng of all sacramentis, as was verely betokned in the passion of our Lorde Jesu Crist; by water that ran out of his syde, whan al his blod was gon: so that by the sacrament of bapteme he is mad Godes child, and he receiveth there part of the passion of Crist, and part of al sacramentis and prayers that ben don in holi chirche: and also he receyveth part of al gode dedis that be done among al cristen folk: and yf he holde unto God's covenant that he maketh there, for to have a dwellyng place for evere in the blisse of heven: but what tyme he trespasseth so ageynste the lawe of God, that he is worthy to be accursed of holy chirche, than is he departhet from God and all goode werkes: and he is than delyvered agaen unto the fend of hell, for to putte hym fro his synne in the payene withouten ende. And the fire is nothyng in all this worlde that a cristen man ought so gretly for to drede, as for to falle by any waye in to the sentence of cursinge, the which departeth hym fro God, that is Fader, and fro holy chirche his moder.

Also cursinge is cleped the sword of holy chirche: for right as that the strok of the sword, it fleith and depertith the lyf fro the bodi; right so the strok of this goostly sword, it deperteth and doth away god fro a man or a woman wich that is accursed. That is, the lyf of their soules, that thei and their werkes be evermore dede after: but if [*unless*] they have specyall grace of God, for to amende them here. For a many clerkes prove that at the day of dome, and [*if*] our lady wolde with saynt Johan baptist, and all that ben in heven, knele downe all at ones before the face of God, thei shulde not in that

time through prayer of them all, delyuer the soule of a man or of a woman that dyeth in dedly synne. For that were expres ageynste the holy gospelles, were crist saith hymselfe, that he shal truly geve every man there right as he hath deserved here.

¶ And if the day of dome shall be so harde with all tho that dye in any dedly synne, what shall then betyde of them in that same tyme, that be founden openly acursed of God and holy chirche? In this grete perilous damnacion of soule, ben all tho men and women that I shall spek of.

¶ So that first and formest, we denounce acurse, all tho that holy chirche folsli depriven of any right or profyt, either by law writen, or elles by good custom which hath ben holden and used of old tyme: and in this poynt falleth .III. maner of folk: first all tho that steleth holy chirche goodes in what place so they ben don for to kepe: or elles that stele unhalowed thynges out of holy place, or thinges that ben halowed out of place unhalowed, and all tho that wytyngly breke and destroye any poynt of fredom that longeth to holy chirche: and this is nought all onely understand of the fredomes that longen generaly to all holy chirche, but also of other special fredomes, which that some chirche hath more one than an other.

¶ The thridde point is, that all tho ben acursed that purchase wrytes or letters of any lewed [*lay*] court, for to lette [*to hinder*] the processe of the lawe of holy chirche, of causes that longen skilfuly unto Cristene court, the wich I shulde nought be demed [*judged*] by, nor other lawe: and all tho that lette archebisshop, or any other, that hath

jurediccion and power by the lawe of holy chirche: that they maye nought visyte their sogettes, or dar nought use their lawe for to amende the soules of them that they have to kepe: and all tho, that falsly flen a wey fro o place to an other, that holy chirche may nought chastise them, ne rewle them as he sholde.

Also god and holy chyrche accurseth all tho, that leye hand in violence on prest or clerk, on any man or woman of religion, but yf it be that they may nought elles saue them selves, or elles that it be in certeyn poyntes that the lawe gevith leue.

Also we denounce all tho acursed, that maliciousli stele or destroye the goodes, that longeth to manere, or to graunges of any men or women of religion, or of archebisshop, of bisshop, other of any other place of mennes of holy chirche, wythout special leve of them that have the goodes to keepe.

Also tho that falsly arreste, or by any way take or enpresoun or destresse men of holy chirche: wher thourought they forsake here benefices for mechef: or whenne they have apeled to the court of Rome, or elles ben somoned theyder by citacion, or to any other court, all tho be acursed that lette them to pursue their right, and all that therto geue help or any maner counseil.

Also all tho ben acursed, be they never so grete, that procure or geve leve or commaunde, any other to sle, or to mayme them, or to bete: or by any other wey to greve any ordenarye, or juge of the lawe of holy chirche, in body or in here goodes, for als myche as he gave lawful sentence, of suspend-inge, or coursynge, or of interdytynge, agen kyng or prince, meir, sherreve, or bayly: or agenst any

other of what stat so they be, but yf thei make amendes wyth inne the .viii. dayes.

And also tho ben acursed, that use suche mennes leve or don here commaundementes, ne they may nought ben asoiled but by the court of Rome.

And also all tho be thei nevere so grete, the wiche that ben suspened, and don out of holy chirche, or elles ben paraventure openly acursed, yf they make by strengthe, or constreyne by any wey any manere of ordynarie, that longeth to holy chyrche, eyther hym that suspendede them or acursed them, or elles any other, or for drede, or for manace, or any other point for to asoyle them of that sentence ageyns his wille: first an formest that absolucion is nought, and all suche ben acursed in the grete curs.

And also tho that have any temporal lordshyp, and forbede here soget by manas or by peyne, that thei shal nought selle chafare that they use, unto prelatis, ne men of holy chirche, ne bye no thing of them that they have to selle.

These poyntes ther ben, and also many other, that often ful gretly greve and anoye men of holy chirche: of whyche all the doeres and mainteners falle in thys grete curs, as witnesseth wel the lawe of God and holy chyrche: but I trowe it be no nede to shewe mo often them here, and therfore I passe over atte thys tyme to speke of other pointes.

¶ Also all tho ben acursed by al holy chirche, that breke or destorble the unite and the pes: first of our lorde the kyng, and sythen of his kynne, by power, or by counseil, by word or by werk: or elles by any way to kerte [*to cast; to contrive*] or to compace hys deth, or any point of traytourie of hym

or of his lond: and all tho that falsly withholde his heretayge or any other ryght, that hym ought lawfully to have: and all tho ben acursed, that geve mede, or elles take any manere geftes for to lette pes, and for to procure strif in any degre, other more or lasse among cristene folk.

¶ Also they ben acursed in hevinn and in erthe, that falsli forswere them upon the holydam:[3] and knowe wel that it is fals whenne they begynne to swere, in questes, or in acises or in any other fals cause: and all tho that hyre suche men, or make them to be hyred, or mayntene them, or teche them, eyther by word or werk, for to lette trewe matrymonye, or lawful herytage, or testament, or ought elles that is trewly ordeyned: and also all tho advokatis of lawe of holy chirche, that in plee of matrimonye, or any other trewe cause make wityngly, and with any semed false exceptions for to destroye,

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[3] Somner says, from the Anglo-saxon *Haligdome*, holy doom or judgment: and this is more probable than the usual reference which the word is supposed by some to make to the blessed Virgin. Others, with far better reason, explain the word to refer to the relic or to the shrine itself, the holy dam or dom, which was filled with relics, and people were called upon to swear by them. In the Bayeux tapestry Harold is represented standing between two shrines; and extending a hand to each he takes the unhappy oath which he swore to duke William.

The confessional of archbishop Egbert has the following canon: "Qui perjuraverit in ecclesia, vel in evangelio vel in reliquiis sanctis, iij annos jejunet." *Thorpe*, vol. 2. p. 159.

In the dialogue on the second commandment in "Dives and Pauper" Pauper thus answers a question put to him: "For to couple or to knytte to gydre god and the holy dome in swerynge, in ernest, or in game, it is a full greuous synne and grete despyte and scorne to goddes name." Cap. xij. No explanation is given; and it is difficult to see the reason why, solemnly and "in ernest," the two might not be joined.

or lette, or tarie a trewe cause, that it may nought spedly be discussed, and ended after the cours of lawe.

Also all tho ben acursed, that for hate or for mede, or any other encheson [*occasion*] sclaundre falsli, or defame any man or woman, so that they be brought fro good fame unto wykked, where for that thei haue nede to porge them bi the lawe and ben therfore gretly greved, and anoyed in body and in soule.

Also all tho ben acursed, in this gret sentence .IIII. time by yere, that for malice or for wretthe, of persoun, or of viker, or of parish prest, or elles of any other, wyth holde tithes or offringes fro there parisshe chirche, or any other right that it aught lawfuli to have, eyther by lawe writen, or elles bi goode custom, or turne them tho or do them in other place after there owne wylle, so that thei ben nought don to that same place thei shulde be.

¶ And all tho ben acursed that procure, or lette, by word or dede, any man or woman, for to do ther goode wylle and ther devocyon to God, and to holy chyrche ward.

¶ Nota. Also all tho men of religion, freres, and all other whiche that use to go aboute and preche goodes word, yf thei preche or teche any thyng pryuely or apertly, by any maner colour man or woman is right turned a wey ward, and hath the wers wylle for to paye hys thithes and his offringes, unto his parish chirche, all suche ben acursed by thys grete curs, as it is wryten in the lawe of holy chirche.

¶ And in that same place, the holy pope Clement the firste, with all his counseil, bi all the power that

he hadde of God and holy chyrche, he amoyneth [*admonisheth*] and chargeth alle suche religious men, first and formest on peril of ther soules, and as they answere to God at the dredful day of dome, and also on peyne of endelles damnacyon, that they preche openly .VIII. sythes be yere, unto the commune peple, for to make them to have consciens of ther tythes, and of other offrynges, unto ther parysh chirches: that is for to seye, the first Sonday of Lenten, and the fourthe and the laste Sonday of Lente, and in the feste of the ascension of our Lorde, and wyt Sonday. And in the nativyte of saynt Johan baptyst: Also in the festis of the assumpcion, and nativite of our lady, whanne they be required and beden of men of holy chirche, that kepe the place that thei preche inne: and that they do treuly therby sines to all that here them, for to enforme them and teche them by word and by ensample, that thei do treuthe in all poyntes unto theyr parish cherchis: And right so ben thei bounden, bi the same lawe and be the same peyne, for to do to all men and women, that they here ani schrifte of, or elles thei fall in to grete perile of soules that I spak of er [*ere*].

¶ And that crystene men and women be harde bounden on peyne of dedly synne, nought all onely be the ordenaunce of man, but first and formest be the ordenaunce and the commaundament of all myghty God them selfe, but in the olde lawe and also in the newe, for to paye trewly to God and holy chirche, the tenthe part of all maner of thinges that them have by yere; also wel the tenthe part of al maner encrese, that they winne trewly by the grace of God, both with here travaille and also with

here craftes; also the tenthe part of al maner fysshes and foules and bestes both wilde and tame, and of al manere frutes that growe out of the erthe, wytnessed wel seynt Austyn in hys decret, as it is wryten in the lawe of holy chirche. And what veniaunce that our Lorde God taket upon thys world, by encheson of them that with nought paye ther tythes, and also for them that falsly tythe, and in what manere that our Lorde God hath graunted .IIII. thinges to all them that trewly tithe: Telleth openly seynt Jerome, in the same cause and question I seide ere: and also seynt Austin in the same chapit. Also men of holy chirche have leve by Goddis lawe, for to acurse al tho by name that wyl nought paye ther tythes, as it is writen in many places in the lawe of holy chirche.

And also ye shal knowe wel that all tho ben acursed, that in vyolence drawe out any man or woman, that fleth for help and socure unto holy chirche: or elles out of any other place that is halowed, but in certein poyntes that the lawe geueth leve. Or lette them to have sustenaunce ther while thei ben there, and all tho that geve therto help or counseil.

¶ Also all tho ben acursed that lette or procure to lette the testament, and the laste wil of folk whan they deye, of thynges that ben ther owne, and that they maye skilfully bequethe bothe by lawe of holy chirche and by custome: whether it be testament of wyves, or of widedowes, or of any other wymmen: but al onely of theym that ben bounden, wher that it is ordeyned so by olde custome of the contre, and of them that ben bounden men to religion, the whiche shulde by lawe of holy chyrch

have notyng of ther owne, and also that be sworne and charged with executoriis, and fulfille nought the dedes wil as ther charge axeth.

Also all tho ben acursed, what that evere thei be, that make statutes or any lawes or any other customes agenst the privileges, and the fredoms, and lawes that longeth to holy chirche, after suche statutes, and all tho that wytingly or wilfully write them or make to be write, but thei destroye them for evere more wythinne amonethe after.

Also tho seculer justices or juges, what that ever thei be, be they never so grete, that ben put in office and have the lawe to kepe, whiche tyme and alse often as thei be prayed and required, for to do ther office in helpyng of tho folk that have suffred wronges and harmes ther be fore, but yf thei do trewthe and rightfulnes, by ther connyng, both in lerede and lewede [*learned and ignorant*], and principally to men of holy chirche, as the lawe asketh and as ther office wolde, elles they ben acursed in this grete curs.

Also all the seculer men whych that be reweleres and lederes of cytees, and of townes, yf thei make any unlefful taxes, or talages, or any exaccyones on prestes and clerkes, and men of holy chirche, and constreyne them by there lewed power, or elles by any way for to do, or destroye, the jurisdiccion of prelates of holy chirche, but yf thei leve suche doynge for evere, whych tyme that they be amonested lawfully therto, elles they ben acursed in thys grete curs, and may nought be assoyled or [*before*] thei have mad ful amendes, both to them that they have so greved, and also to holy chirche.

¶ Also tho all ben thus openly acursed, that ben wytingly wedde ayenst the lawe of God and of holy chirche in grees [*degrees*] that ben forbode, as in grees of consanguinyte or affynite, or of gossyphede: and all tho men and wommen that ben professed in any relygion, whych that is approved by the lawe of holy chirche, and brek out of ther ordre, and taken wyves or husbondes, and also prestes and clerkes that ben within holy ordres, that forsake ther ordre and ther degre, and put them to be maryed, and all that knowe in matrymonye, whan it shal be mad, any gret defaute or lettinge, but yf [*unless*] thei by some wey tell holy chirche ther of.

And also all tho men of religion, whether they be monk or chanon, or frere, or any ordre that ministre or geue any other mennes parichenes, either lered or lewed, any of these .III. sacramentis that I shal speke of, that is to seye; the holy sacrament of houslyng, or of anoynting, or elles of wedding; but yf they have special leve ther to of them that kepe the soules of tho parishes: or yf thei assoile any man or woman which that is acursed, eyther of the law of holy chirche writen, or elles of any ordinarie or juge that longeth tho holy chirche; or by any constitution provincial or synodal, whiche that archebisshop and bisshop make wyth the counseil of their clergye in help and emendement of tho soules that thei have special privilege, and leve ther to of the court of Rome, or elles yf they asoyle any man, a pena et a culpa, or any other gret poynt, which that is reserved: all suche be acursed by the lawe of holy chirche, and they may nought be assoyled but by the court of Rome. And ther in the same place, the pope commaundeth and bidden arche-

bisshop and bisshop and all other ordinaries that longen to holy chirche, that wych tyme that they may wite, that any religious man hath trepassed in any of all these pointes, that they denounce him openly acursed fro day to day, in citees and in townes, wher folk ben most gadered, and that they ne cese nought, ne lette by no way, unto that they knowe that they be assoiled by the court of Rome. And also the pope amonesteth and chargeth all relygious men, first on peril of ther soules, and also on peyne of cursynge, that thei neither in sarmons, ne bakbite nought ne despise prelates ne men of holi chirche, ne that thei seye nought that thei have pardon, or privylege, or power more than they have, to deceyve their owne soules and other mennes bothe: or yf ani of them be in place wher any testament is maad, that they procure nought unto them selfe ne unto theyr convent to goodes, that have ben falsly getten, or wyth holden, the wych moste nede be restored by the lawe of God: ne tythes, ne offrynges, ne other ryghtes that ben with holden falsli fro holi chirche: ne, nor other dettes that longen tyl other folk; all these poyntes ben writen in the cap. that I spak of, or the wych was mad by pope Clement the fyrst, and hys cardinales, and all hys general counseil; and it is put in lawe of holi chirche, in perpetuel mynde, to make all religious men aferd to do suche grete defautes, and for grete peynes and herde, we shall chastise them that vertu may nought teche.

Also ye shall knowe wel, that all tho ben accursed, whether thei be religious men or other, that preche, or procure privili, or apertli, any of other mennys paryshennes for to chese here sepulture and here

biryenge amonges them, and for to leve and forsake the sepulture and the buriinge, that longeth unto there parish cherches, or elles yf any man or woman chese of there owe frewyll to be byried amonges men of religyon or in any other place, than in his owne paryshe. All so, all tho that procure them to make a vow ther to, or make them for to swere ony gret oth that thei shal nevere after chaunge that purpos, ne that wil, all such ben accursed in this grete sentence by pope Boneface the VIII. and his cardinales, and bi all the clergie and counseil of holi chirche in mynde for evere more. And ther the same pope Boneface, ordainet and juged with his counseil that all tho men and women, that thus chese them there sepulture bi procurement of any oth, or swere or make a vow ther to by other menes enformynge, that they be nought buryed whan thei ben dede, neither in that place that they so chese, ne in none other place bote al only in hys owne paryshe chirche or chyrche yerd, wher he tok his sacramentis, ther whyle he was a lyve: And also all tho men religyous, and other that receyue any such man or woman in to there sepulture, but yf thei with inne .x. dayes fro the time that the cors is buried amonges them, take him up ageyn and restore the same cors unto his parish chyrche, wyth al maner profites and advantages that they receyve therfore; elles the chyrche or chirche yerd or what place that yt be, wher that cors is buried, it is suspended and enterdyted by the same lawe: and all tho that thus do, and all that procure therto, ben openly acursed, and may nought be asoiled but by the court of Rome. And suchen ben acursed also by pope Clemente the fifte, and by al his counseil.

And ther the same pope Clement revoketh and destroieth all maner statutes, and privileges, wych that ben contrarie to any of all these poyntes: also what tyme that any chirche or chapel, or any holy place is suspended, or acursed, or elles interdited, either by sentence of lawe wryten, or elles by any laweful dome of any ordinarie, we denounce openly all tho acursed that constreyne any prest for to synge ther inne, or by rynging of belles, or by any other way maketh to here masse, that ben openly acursed by name, or elles interdyted.

¶ And also wanne any man of holy chirche by his commission doth out [*put out*] of holy chirche, or acurseth either man or woman, and amoneste him by name on holy chirche by halve, that they go out of chirche while that godde's service is in doynge; but yf [*unless*] they do his biddyng, they falleth in thys grete curs: and al that mayntene them, or bidde them holde them stil in chirche, and none of these may be assoyled bote by the court of Rome.

Also all tho ben acursed, that maliciousli for wynnynge or for hatrede or any encheson, forsake for to fulfille the biddynge and the commandement of our lorde the kyng, for to take them to prisone that ben openly acursed and laye there in .XL. dayes, and all tho that helpe them for to be delivered without assent and wytinge of them that acursed them, and un till thei have made amendes to God and to holy chirch.

Also whanne any chyrche is voide, al tho ben acursed, that put any debate or ple in the patronage, wher trough the verey patron is lette of his ryght.

Also tho that breke any point of the kinges great chartre or chartre of the forest, in wiche chartre is writen the fredoms of this lond, that divers kynges have graunted to everi man: in the grete chartre ben .xxxv. pointes and the chartre of the forest comprehendith .xv. pointes; and all archebishops and bishops that longen to engelond have acurset all tho that breke wytingli any of all these pointes, the wych sentence of cursynge hath ben often confermed by the court of Rome.

And all tho ben acursed, that false [*forge*] the popes letters or is seel, or any other letters or seel that ben autentik, and all tho that them purchase, and all tho that use wytingly suche false purchased letters.

And also all tho ben acursed that stele, or destroye, or falsli with holde chartre, or testamentes, or any other maner letters, that longen til other men; wher for thei lese their heritage, or any right that thei shulde haue by lawe. And all tho that use false weghtes, or false yerdes, or any other false mensures for to deceiue the peple with, and all tho that false the kinges moneye, or clippeth or maketh lasse bi cause of their profit.

.¶ And also all tho that brek or brenne holy chirche, or any other place of religion, or do in holy chirche, or in any other holi place, any foul syn, wherfor it hath nede either to be newe halowed or elles to be reconciled.

¶ And all heretikes ben acursed, and all tho that mayntene heresie: and all tho that use symonie: and all usurers: and all tho that make whanne usure ys taken, that yt be nought restoret agen, and all tho that live on such craft: and all tho that be

cursed bi name: and all tho that wilfully slee them selve.

¶ And none of all these may be buried amonge no christen folke, and all tho ben acursed that mayntene or defende any of them, either by word or dede.

Also we denounce acursed all open theves and robberes, and all that them receyve wytyngly, or gyue them help or counseil.

¶ And them that in violence drawe blod on her fader or moder, and this is understonde bothe of bodeli fader and moder, and goostly.

¶ And all tho that wylfully slee theyr owne chylde, or caste them a wey atte chyrches, or atte hospitales, or in any other place: and many other poyntes also longe unto thys greate sentence.

¶ But be autorite of our Lorde God Almighty, and our lady saynt Marie, and of all heven, of angeles and archangeles, patriarkes and prophetes, apostles and evangelistes, martyres, confessores and virgines, and also bi the power of all holi chirche, that our Lorde Jesu Christe gaue unto seynt Peter, we denounce all tho openly acursed that we have rekened unto you, and all tho that mainten them in theyr sinnes, or geve them to help or counseil, so that they be departed fro God and al holi chirche, and that they haue no part of the passion of our Lord Jesu Christ, ne of no sacrament that is in holy chirche, ne no part of the prayer amonge cristine folke, but that thei ben acursed of God and holy chirche, fro the sole of the foot unto the crowne of the heed, slepinge and wakynge, sythynge and standinge, and in all their wordes and werkes, and but yf [*unless*] they have grace of God, for to amende them here by theyr lyve, for to dwelle in the

peynes of hell for ever withouten ende: fiat, fiat. Amen.[5]

Sequitur de absolutione, et modo et auctoritate absolvendi a sententia excommunicationis majore et minore. Et est sciendum, quod generaliter in forma confessionis sacramentalis prius est pœnitentia injungenda, et consequenter absolutio imponenda, sub hac forma.

Ego, auctoritate Dei Patris omnipotentis, et beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, et officii mihi in hac parte commissi, absolvo te ab his peccatis mihi per te confessis, et ab aliis de quibus non recordaris. In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti. Amen.

In const. oct. c. Quoniam cæca. *Hæc forma absolvendi traditur:*

Ego, auctoritate qua fungor, absolvo te a peccatis tuis de quibus es contritus et mihi confessus: et Dominus te absolvat. In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti. Amen.

Et debet præmitti oratio, Misereatur tui omnipotens Deus, *ne forte effectus sacramenti impediatur ex parte pœnitentis.*

Et post absolutionem convenienter apponitur, In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti. Amen. *Ad signandum, quod sacerdos non propria auctoritate absolvit, sed quasi minister: tamen hoc relinquitur sacerdotis arbitrio. Nec requiritur in absolutione*

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[5] Forms similar to the above are to be found in many manuscripts of the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries; for example, Claudius A. ij. and Harleian 2383 in the British museum.

manus impositio, quia hoc sacramentum non ordinatur ad exequendam aliquam excellentiam gratiæ, sed remissionem culpæ, et ideo magis competit crucis signatio, quia fuit instrumentum nostræ redemptionis.

Absolutio a minore excommunicatione impendenda est sub hac forma. Excommunicatus excommunicatione minori confiteatur se esse excommunicatum, et causam specialiter exprimat pro qua excommunicatus est, et petat se absolvi, et hoc a proprio sacerdote fieri potest.

Et debet sacerdos hæc verba vel similia dicere: Auctoritate qua fungor, absolvo te ab omni vinculo excommunicationis minoris: *Vel sic*, a vinculo excommunicationis qua ligatus es pro tali facto, *exprimendo illud factum in speciali;* et sacramentis ecclesiæ te restituo. In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti. Amen.

Et potius est absolutio sic imponenda, cum verbo singularis numeri quam pluralis, secundum theolog. quamvis Hosti. aliter dicat.

In absolutione a majori excommunicatione sunt iiii. observanda. Primum est quod excommunicatus juret se stare mandatis ecclesiæ. Sed hoc juramentum non est de substantia absolutionis. Unde et si omittatur (quod tamen fieri non debet) non minus tenet absolutio. Porro de pueris an jurare debeant judicio relinquatur. Mulieres vero indubitanter jurare debent. Secundum est ut quis excommunicatus pro notaria offensa in aliquem non absolvatur, nisi prius sufficiens emendatio præstetur. Pro occulta vero offensa, aut pro contumacia, sufficit juratoria cautio, ubi scilicet nullæ expensæ petuntur. Si vero expensæ petuntur vel satisfactio damni, non debet reus absolvi nisi satisfaciat si satisfacere valeat; et peccat qui talem absolvit · si tamen de facto absolvat, absolutus est, secundum W.

Si autem emendationem facere non potest, debet absolvi: recepta prius ab eo idonea cautione scilicet fidejussoria, vel pignoratitia de satisfaciendo cum ad pinguiorem fortunam pervenerit. Quam si præstare non potest, saltem præstet juratoriam et absolvatur: talis quoque ad petitionem adversarii tenetur cedere bonis. Tertium est, quod excommunicatus absolvatur per eum qui tulit sententiam: vel per ejus superiorem, aut ab aliquo auctoritate alterius eorum, et per sacerdotem reconcilietur. Nam quamvis non sacerdos possit excommunicare et absolvere a sententia judiciali, tamen dicere debet absoluto ut ostendat se sacerdoti, qui ratione clavis ipsum absolvere debet, quantum ad solemnem reconciliationem et ecclesiæ satisfactionem: quia hæc in absolutione excommunicati requiruntur. Et si minor excommunicatio requirat episcopum vel proprium sacerdotem pro absolutione obtinenda, multo fortius hoc requiritur in majori, secundum Host.

¶ *Deinde consuetum est, ut fiat absolutio hoc modo. Excommunicatus, vestibus suis spoliatus, ponat se ante januas ecclesiæ prostratum, vel flexis genibus coram illo qui debet eum absolvere: qui absolvens alba vel superpellicio cum stola indutus, teneat virgam in manu sua, dicendo totum et integrum psalmum,* Miserere mei Deus secundum magnam misericordiam tuam, *cum* Gloria Patri. *Et* Sicut erat. *Interim verberando pœnitentem cum virga, videlicet percutiendo eum semel in quolibet versu, vel magis vel minus, lenius vel acrius secundum quantitatem delicti. Deinde finito psalmo dicat.*

Kyrie eleison.
Christe eleison.
Kyrie eleison.

Pater noster. Et ne nos.

Salvum fac servum tuum *vel* ancillam tuam, Domine.

Deus meus sperantem in te.

Nihil proficiat inimicus in eo *vel* in ea.

Et filius iniquitatis non apponat nocere ei.

Esto ei, Domine, turris fortitudinis.

A facie inimici.

Domine exaudi orationem meam.

Et clamor meus ad te veniat.

Dominus vobiscum.

Et cum spiritu tuo.

Oremus.

Deus cui proprium est misereri semper et parcere, suscipe deprecationem nostram: et hunc famulum tuum, *vel* hanc famulam tuam, quem, *vel* quam excommunicationis catena constringit, miseratio tuæ pietatis absolvat. Per Christum Dominum. Amen.

Deinde dicat absolvens sic:

Auctoritate Dei Patris omnipotentis, et beatorum apostolorum suorum Petri et Pauli, et ecclesiæ suæ sanctæ, et nostra, absolvimus te ab omni vinculo excommunicationis majoris quam incurristi pro tali facto, *exprimendo illud factum in speciali*, et restituimus te communioni et participationi ecclesiæ, et omnium fidelium, et ecclesiasticis sacramentis. In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti. Amen.

Multa hic posita non sunt de essentia absolutionis sed de bene esse: et ponuntur hic ad instructionem simplicium sacerdotum. Quartum requisitum est, quod absolvens post absolutionem injungat absoluto rationabilia mandata. Nam si irrationabilia injungeret, posset appellare. Et sciendum est quod in prædictis non intelligitur absolvens illicite communi-

care cum excommunicato: sed licite facit, quia hæc ad salutem animæ pertinent, et in his licitum est cum excommunicatis communicare seu participare, nec sententia incurritur.

¶ *Nota quod excommunicato a canone in sua absolutione principaliter injungendum est, sub juramento suo, quod contra canonem illum nunquam veniat. Videlicet incendiario, quod nunquam incendat nisi in bello justo. Et percussori clerici, quod nunquam percutiat nisi in casu licito, et ita de similibus. In quibusdam autem requiritur cautio quod de cætero talia non faciant.*

¶ *Item quando excommunicatus habet justum impedimentum ne possit accedere ad eum a quo de jure foret absolvendus, et propter periculum mortis, vel aliud simile absolvitur ab eo qui alias eum absolvere non posset, injungendum est ei ut, quam cito poterit, se præsentet ei qui de jure absolvere debuit vel consuetudine, recepturus mandatum ejus et satisfacturus. Nam aliter reincidit in eandem sententiam. Et eodem modo reincidunt absoluti a sede apostolica vel a legatis ejusdem sedis, quibus in absolutione injungitur ut ordinario vel alteri se præsentent pro pœnitentia suscipienda, et quod satisfaciant injuriam passis, et hoc non faciunt quam citius commode possunt. Item si quis absolverit aliquem de facto ab excommunicatione a qua de jure non potuit absolvere, cum hoc advertit, tenetur sic absolutum certificare de errore suo, et consulere quod impetret sibi absolutionem ab eo qui de jure absolvere potest.*

The Order of Consecration of Nuns.

The following order of the benediction and consecration of nuns is taken from a manuscript in the library of the university of Cambridge (Fol. Mm. 3. 13). It is written upon vellum, sixteen leaves, and the entire volume is now reprinted.

On the blank leaf at the beginning is written "Hic liber attinet ad monasterium monialium sanctæ mariæ in civitate winton. Ex dono reverendi in Christo patris, domini Ricardi Fox, ejusdem civitatis episcopi, et dicti monasterii benefactoris præcipui."

Bishop Fox was translated to Winchester from Durham in the year 1500, and died bishop of that see in 1528. The MS. was probably written soon after the year 1500.

Independently of those particulars which are not contained in the pontificals and the curiosity of the English rubrics, the following order will be found to be highly interesting in many respects, and important as throwing much light upon the practice and observances of the English church in one of her most solemn ancient offices. The reader will find in a few notes a collation sufficiently exact to enable him to judge of the order of this office in the Sarum and Bangor pontificals, and in the MS. pontifical formerly belonging to the cathedral church of

St. Swithun in the same city of Winchester. As might be expected, in one or two points where the following order varies from the Sarum it agrees with the last-named pontifical.

I have added in this edition another form from a manuscript in the British museum (Cotton, Vespasian, A. xxv. fol. 129).

The Order of Consecration of Nuns.[1]

THIS is the fourme and order of the cerimonies perteignyng to the solempne profession, benediction, and consecracion of holy virgyns. And thys consecracion may oonly be celebrate by a bisshop: and that vppon an holy and solempne day: that is to say, the sonday or some other solempne feest.[2]

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[1] The Lansdown MS. 388, in the British museum, of about the year 1480, contains this office as used in the diocese of Lincoln, with (generally) the prayers in English and short rubrics in Latin. So that the two orders together may be regarded as giving us the devotional part in both languages. The variations are considerable, and I shall make a few extracts.

Probably this MS. represents the use of some great convent, rather than of the diocese of Lincoln, or of any particular bishop. The whole of it has been printed by the Surtees society, vol. 61.

[2] "Ordo consecrationis sanctarum virginum, quæ in diebus solemnibus facienda est: videlicet, aut in epiphania Domini, aut in festis beatæ Mariæ, aut apostolorum, aut dominicis diebus, fiat hoc modo. Virgines Deo dicandæ post introitum missæ et collectam, priusquam legatur epistola, ante altare in albis vestibus, veniant lento gressu, et vultibus demissis, cantantes resp. *Audivi vocem.*" *Rubr. pontif. Sar.* With which in the main agrees the Winchester pontifical. The Bangor MS. is defaced and slightly imperfect in this place; but I believe the following to be correct: "Consecratio virginum, quæ facienda est in diebus dominicis, vel in apostolorum solemnitatibus, vel in iiij^or diebus nativitatis vel paschæ vel penthecostes, vel in aliis solemnitatibus: virgines sive viduæ Deo dicandæ, ad introitum missæ deponant habitum religionis: et post orationem, prius-

First, at the houre conuenient, the bisshop wyth his ministres indued and arrayed after their accustumable maner, shall come to the hygh aulter, and there shall the sayd bisshop say and perfourme the office of the masse, wyth *Gloria in excelsis*. And the collecte.

And when the collecte is sayd, and the bisshop sette byfore the myddys of the hygh aulter, then suche a person as the bisshop shall appoynt, standyng at the est dore of the quoyre, and lokyng towarde the place where the virgyns that then shall professe doo array theymself, shall syng unto theym:

Prudentes virgines [3] aptate vestras lampades, ecce sponsus venit, exite obviam ei.[4]

And that song, forthwyth the sayde virgyns conducted by an honorable preest in a cope, every oon of theym clothed all in whyte, and beryng vppon hir ryght arme the habite that the relygyon and profession requireth, wyth the veyle, ryng, and scroll of hir professyon attached uppon the sayd habite,

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quam legatur epistola, eant usque altare cantando antiphonam: *Amo Christum in cujus thalamum introivi*, &c." as below.

Very much of this office can be traced to the highest antiquity in the English church: many of the prayers are in the earliest pontifical extant, that of archbishop Egbert, a contemporary of venerable Bede.

[3] "Ye wise and prudent maydens, pure and clene virgyns in our Lord God, prepare and make redy yor lyghts. Loo yor spouse Iesu Cryste, the sone of God, ys at hand. Come ye furthe and mete hym." Lansdown MS. 388.

[4] Neither of the three pontificals notice this, or any other of the particulars which follow, until the part taken by the bishop himself begins with the benediction of the vestments. The York pontifical of archbishop Bainbridge agrees here also with them: and the student should carefully compare this office with that manuscript, as edited for the Surtees society, vol. 61. p. 154.

and in hir left hande beryng a taper wythoute lyght, must come frome the place where they were arrayed, towardys the west dore of the quoyre: softely in manner of procession, soo that thelders goo byfore the yongers, inclynyng ther faces towardys the grownde, syngeng all together thys responde:

Audivi vocem de cœlo dicentem: Venite omnes virgines sapientissimæ. Oleum recondite in vasis vestris dum sponsus advenerit.

V. Media nocte clamor factus est, Ecce sponsus venit. Oleum.

And soo syngeng the saide responde, entre in to the quoyre and passe softely through the same towardys the hyght aulter. And addressyng theym streight to the ryght ende of the same aulter, they shall lay vppon it in order theyr veyles, ryngys, and scrolles of theyr professyon: and soo retorne to the bisshop. And at his feete lay dowen theyr habyts aforesayde, but theyr tapers they shall kepe styll in their handys, as they did byfore, standyng in rowe byfore the bysshop. And then shall the sayd conductor say unto the bysshop, or rede in writtyng:

Reverende pater, postulat hæc sacrosancta hujus monasterii concio, ac in primis domina abbatissa, ut has præsentes virgines digneris benedicere et consecrare: ac eas Domino nostro Jesu Christo summi et omnipotentis Dei unigenito Filio desponsare.[5]

And then the bisshop shall aske the sayde conductor of theyr habilite, sayng thus:

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[5] "Reverend fader in God, oure holy moder the chirch willing and requyryng that yt mought please yow to blysse and consecrate these virgyns and sanctymonyallis, and despouse and mary them to our Lord Iesu Cryste, sone unto the high king Allmyghty God." Lansdown MS.

¶. *Scis illas dignas esse?*

And he shall answer, sayng:

¶. *Quantum humana fragilitas esse et nosse sinit credo: et de benignitate Dei confisa testificor illas huic consecracioni ac desponsacioni esse idoneas.*

¶. Then shall the bisshop say:

¶. *Et nos auxiliante Domino nostro Jesu Christo salvatore nostro, has præsentes statuimus consecrare, et eidem Domino nostro Jesu Christo eas desponsare.*

¶. And then shall the bisshop ȝeue theym a compendiose exhortacion for their perseverance: And then demaunde of te (*sic*) virgyns in commune:

¶. *Vultis in sanctæ virginitatis proposito perseverare?*

¶. And the virgyns shall answer together:

¶. *Volumus.*

¶. And then the bisshop shall close severally, every mynchyn is handys: oon mynchyn after another in order, in his handys, and say severally to hir:

¶. *Promittis virginitatem perpetuo servare?*

¶. And every virgyn shall oon after the other answer:

¶. *Promitto.*

¶. And thrydly the bisshop shall say to theym all in commune:

¶. *Vultis benedici, consecrari, et Domino nostro Jesu Christo summi regis Filio desponsari?*

¶. And the virgyns shall answer in commune:

¶. *Volumus.*[6]

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[6] The Lansdown manuscript has here eight separate questions to be put by the bishop and answered by those about to be professed. They refer to the vows of poverty and chastity, to willingness to "be consecrate" and to obedience. "Wyll yow,

¶. And then shall the bisshop arryse, and blesse their habits lygheng at his feete, sayng thies iii orysons [7] wythoute Dominus vobiscum.

Deus, qui vestimentum salutare et indumentum æternæ jocunditatis tuis fidelibus promisisti, clementiam tuam suppliciter exoramus, ut hæc indumenta, humilitatem cordis et contemptum mundi significantia, quibus famulæ tuæ sancto visibiliter sunt informandæ proposito, propicius bene✠dicas: ut beatam virginitatem quam te inspirante professuræ sunt, te protegente et gubernante inviolabilem usque in finem vitæ custodiant: quatenus cum sancta Dei genitrice Maria cæterisque innumerabilibus virginibus, æternæ vitæ bravium perseverantes coram Christo Domino percipere mereantur. Per eundem.

Oremus.

Deus, æternorum bonorum fidelissime promissor, certissime persolutor, qui vestimentum salutare et indumentum æternæ jocunditatis tuis fidelibus promisisti, clemenciam tuam suppliciter exoramus, ut hæc indumenta humilitatem cordis et contemptum

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doughters, promysse and vow to be obedyent unto yor bisshoppe, to yor abbas and souerayn, and to forsake euerych of yow yor owne proper will, and to obey yor hedd yn all thyngs towchyng yor relygyon and observance of the same, and yn all other lawfull, honeste, and canonycall precepts?" Afterwards, "Wyll yow, maydens, for the love of God, forsake euerych of yow yor fader, yor moder, yor kynsfolke and fryndys: and for hys love be contentyd to abide and dwell yn this monastery duryng yor lyvys, unles thou be canonycally callyd owte of the same, or lycencid by the ordinary or abass?"

[7] The Sarum and the Bangor pontificals appoint only the last two of these prayers: the St. Swithun copy has all three in the same order.

mundi significantia, quibus famulæ tuæ sancto visibiliter sunt informandæ proposito propitius benedicas: ut beatæ castitatis habitum quem te inspirante suscepturæ sunt, te protegente custodiant. Per Christum.

Oremus.

Domine Deus bonarum virtutum dator,[8] et omnium benedictionum largus infusor, te obnixis precibus deprecamur, ut has vestes bene✠dicere et sanctificare digneris, quas famulæ tuæ *N.* et *N.* pro indicio cognoscendæ religionis volunt induere, ut inter sanctas fœminas tibi cognoscantur dicatæ. Per Dominum.

¶. Whych sayd: he shall cast holy water vppon the same habitys,[9] and deliver by his awen handys to every virgyn hir habite: sayng to every oon of theym severally:[10]

Accipe puella pallium sive vestimentum, quod præferas sine macula ante tribunal Domini nostri Jesu Christi, cui flectitur omne genu cœlestium, terrestrium, et infernorum. Qui cum Patre, et Spiritu

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[8] This and the "Accipe puella" which follows are in Egbert's pontifical.

[9] This aspersion is ordered in the Sarum and Winchester pontificals: the Bangor omits it, directing, "Virgines præcedant et viduæ sequantur. Post has orationes det eis episcopus virginitatis indumentum: et tantum velamina apud se faciat retineri: dicens singulatim: *Accipe puella*, &c."

[10] The Lansdown manuscript here refers to the pontifical; and after putting on their habits "*Dicant virgines:* We contemps and despise this fals world, and do forsake all the pleasor and dalyance of the same for the love we beare unto our Savyor Iesu Criste; whome we have ynwardly seen, whome we have and do eanterly above all worldly thyngs love." Presently they again repeat their promise, calling themselves "the ancillis and handmaydens of our Savyour Criste."

sancto, vivit et regnat Deus. Per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.[11]

℄. In the receyvyng wherof,[12] every of theym shall kisse his hande. And that doon, the bisshop and his ministres shall prosequute the masse unto after the credo. And in that meane whyle, shall the virgyns departe to the place that they came fro. And ther put on the saide habitys, sayng thryse in puttynt theym on, thys verse:

℄. Induit me Dominus cyclade auro texta, et immensis monilibus ornavit me. *In tempore paschali.* Alleluya.

℄. Levyng their veyles, ryng, and wryttyng of their profession yet uppon the hygh aulter. And there in

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11 A very curious fragment of a Celtic pontifical, of the tenth century, is in the public library at Zurich: the second page contains a part of the order for consecrating a nun. I quote it as printed by Mr. Warren, in his Celtic Liturgy, p. 23:—

"Permaneat ad prudentibus qui . . . virginibus vigilantia . . . adferte copuletur. per.

"Oremus, fratres carissimi, misericordiam ut euntum bonum tribuere dignetur huic puellæ N. quæ Deo votum candidam vestem perferre cum integritate coronæ in resurrectione vitæ æternae quam facturus est; orantibus nobis, præstet Deus.

"Conserva, Domine, istius devotæ pudorem castitatis dilectionem continentiæ in factis, in dictis, in cogitationibus; per te, Christe Iesu, qui.

"Accipe, puella, pallium candidum quod perferas ante tribunal Domini."

12 From hence to the long benediction the rubrics are at much greater length in the text than in either of the pontificals. The Bangor MS. alone mentions the verse, "Induit me Dominus." But I must remind the reader that we must not conclude that therefore it was not also appointed equally by the other pontificals: for none of these profess to give more than the particulars of the bishop's office: merely alluding to other parts, as presently in the Sarum manuscript we have: "*Veniant in chorum cum cereis ardentibus, cantantes. Resp.* Amo Christum, *cum versu.*"

their arrayng place shall the virgyns remaygne, unto the credo be fynisshede. And then retorne to the west quoyre dore agayne, bifore that, Dominus vobiscum, after the credo be song: beryng their tapers now lyghtede in their ryght handys. And ther stande a lytell wythoute the same west dore, unto the bysshop agayne be set in his chayre. And when the credo is all sayde, and the bisshop set as he dyde bifore, then the virgyns shall entre into the quoyre: and standyng wyth their tapers lyght in theyr ryght handys, a lytell wythin the same west dore of the quoyre, they shall syng all together the responde:

Amo Christum in cujus thalamum introivi, cujus mater virgo est, cujus pater fœminam nescit, cujus mihi organa modulatis vocibus cantant. Quem cum amavero casta sum, cum tetigero munda sum, cum accepero virgo sum.

℣. Mel et lac ex ejus ore suscepi, et sanguis ejus ornavit genas meas.

And then shall they knele there uppon theyr knees in theyr order. To whom soo knelyng, shall the bisshop syttyng at the hygh aulter make a sygne wyth his hande, and syng:

Venite: venite: venite.[13]

And the quoyre shall prosequute the rest: that is to say, Filiæ audite me: timorem Domini docebo vos. *In tempore paschali.* Alleluya.

And when the quoyre hath song that, the virgyns shall demeurely arryse and make a reverence to the

[13] This address or invitation is generally supposed to have been added about the twelfth century. It is included in the pontifical of bishop Martival, of Salisbury: a manuscript of about 1300, in the Bodleian. Rawlinson MSS. C. 400.

bisshop: and then somewhat passe forth softly towardys the bisshop, syngeng as they goo:

Et nunc sequimur ex toto corde, et timemus te.

And when they be soo come to the myddys of the quoyre, then there knele dowen: and then shall the bisshop syng the secounde tyme:

Venite: venite: venite.

And the quoyre prosequute:

Filiæ audite me: timorem Domini docebo vos. *In tempore paschali.* Alleluya.

☾. And when the quoyre hath song that, the virgyns shall arryse and make a lyke reverence to the bisshop, and passe softely some what further, unto they come to the est dore of the quoyre, syngeng as they goo:

☾. Et nunc sequimur ex toto corde, et timemus te.

☾. And then there knele downe. And then the bisshop shall syng unto them, thrydly:

Venite: venite: venite.

☾. And the quoyre prosequute:

☾. Filiæ audite me: timorem Domini docebo vos.

☾. And whyles the quoyre syngeth, Filiæ audite, &c.,

☾. The virgyns shall aryse, and passe through the west dore: and there stande a rowe wythoute the same dore, unto two of the quoyre standyng a syde bytwyxt the bisshop and the virgyns appoyntyng theym towardys the bisshop: syngyng unto theym:

Accedite ad eum, et illuminamini, et facies vestræ non confundentur.

Whych soong to the ende, the quoyre shall repete:

Filiæ audite me: timorem Domini docebo vos.

☾. And that soong and fynisshede, the virgyns shall passe forth veray softely unto the grece next

save oon to the grece that the bisshop sytteth upon, syngeng as they goo:

Et nunc sequimur in toto corde, et timemus te, et quærimus faciem tuam, Domine, non confundas nos, sed fac nobis juxta mansuetudinem tuam et secundum multitudinem misericordiæ tuæ.

And when they be come thether, and have accomplisshede this song, they shall there lyegh prostrate a rowe: all uppon oon grece, unto *Veni Creator* be all song. And the bisshop wyth his chapellayns shall knele bifore the aulter, and say the sevyn psalmes. And in that tyme two clerkys of the quoyre shall syng the commune letanie, the quoyre answeryng theym as it is accustumede. And when they come to the verse, *Ut episcopum*, the bisshop shall then arryse, and turne his face to the virgyns, syngeng:

Ut istas sorores nostras benedicere, ✠ et vera religione conservare digneris. Te rogamus, audi nos.

Ut istas sorores nostras benedicere, sancti✠ficare, ac in vera religione conservare digneris. Te rogamus, audi nos.

Ut istas sorores nostras bene✠dicere, sancti✠ficare, et consecrare✠, ac in vera religione conservare digneris. Te rogamus, audi nos.

And after that retorne to the aulter and knele agayne wyth his chapellayns: unto both he and the quoyre have ended the letanie. And after that the letanye is accomplisshed, then shall the bisshop erecte some what hym self. And begynne the hymme, *Veni creator Spiritus.*[14]

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[14] All the pontificals appoint this hymn. But the Bangor use passes on immediately to the long benediction: nor does the Winchester copy notice the three special supplications to be intro-

¶. And every verse thereof after the maner accustumede in solempne consecracions, the quoyre prosequutyng the same. And when that hymme is all soong, the bisshop shall set hymself in his chayre: as he was bifore the letanye. And thabbasse sytte a lytell frome hym on his left hande. And then shall the virgyns arryse, and there bifore the sayde bisshop and thabbasse, every virgyn oon after an other, knelyng, shall make and rede hir professyon, wyth a lowde voyce, in wryttyng undre thys maner:

Ego, *N.* soror promitto stabilitatem meam et conversionem morum meorum et obedientiam coram Deo omnibusque sanctis ejus, secundum regulam sancti Benedicti [15] in loco isto qui est constructus in honore sanctæ Mariæ, et in præsentia domini *N.* episcopi, et dominæ *N.* ejusdem loci abbatissæ.[16]

¶. And subscribe, or make a crosse in the sayde wrytyng of professyon uppon the bisshops knee: and delyver it to the bisshop. Alle the whych writyngys soo sygned and delyvered, the bisshop shall forthwyth there delyver to thabbasse, commaundyng hir, to kepe them surely in theyr tresory in perpetuell testymony of theyr professyon. And when they be all soo made and soo delyverede, the virgyns standyng there all at the sayde aulter grece, shal synge together:

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duced into the litany. The rubric of that MS. is, "*Post hymnum surgat virgo et veniat ante altare. Tunc imponat episcopus velamen super caput virginis inclinatæ dicendo:* Accipe virgo Christi, &c." Thus omitting the whole form of profession.

[15] Or, as the case may be. As in the Sarum pontifical, "secundum regulam sancti Benedicti, *vel*, sancti Augustini."

[16] "In hoc monasterio quod constructum est in honore sancti *N. vel* sanctæ *N.* in præsentia domini episcopi, et in præsentia dominæ *N.* abbatissæ, *vel* priorissæ." *Pontif. Sar.*

Suscipe me, Domine, secundum eloquium tuum, et vivam, et non confundas me ab expectatione mea.

Whych the quoyre must repete. And whyles the quoyre answereth, the virgyns shall stand erected: and after that agayne inclynyng their bodyes, the virgyns shall syng the secounde tyme, in a lytell hygher voyce:

Suscipe me, Domine, secundum eloquium tuum, et vivam, et non confundas me ab expectatione mea.

And soo the quoyre it repete. And thredly the virgyns shall yet in an hygher voyce syng:

Suscipe me, Domine, secundum eloquium tuum, et vivam, et non confundas me ab expectatione mea.

¶. And the quoyre it repete. And in lyke wyse the virgyns shall syng, *Gloria Patri* and *Sicut erat*. And fynally, *Kyrieleyson*. *Christeleyson*. *Kyrieleyson*. And the quoyre in lyke wyse repete. And thys doon, the virgyns shall prostrate theym selfe: but the bisshop and quoyre shall stande, and say the psalme:

Domine quis habitabit in tabernaculo tuo, &c.

Wyth, Gloria Patri.

¶. And after that the bisshop shall syng:

Salvas fac, Domine, ancillas tuas.

Deus meus.

Mitte eis, Domine, auxilium de sancto.

Et de Syon.

Esto eis, Domine, turris fortitudinis.

A facie.

Domine, exaudi orationem meam.

Et clamor.

Dominus vobiscum.

Oremus.

Famulas tuas quæsumus, Domine, tua semper

gratia benedicat, et inculpabiles ad vitam perducat æternam. Per Dominum, &c.

℄ And then shall the virgyns arryse: and goo wyth the bisshop unto the ryghte ende of the aulter. And there they shall take theyr veyles frome the aulter, and holde theym in theyr handys, tornyng theyr facys towardys the bisshop. And syngeng all to gether thys antiphone:

Ancilla Christi sum, ideo me ostendo servilem personam.

In tempore paschali. Alleluya.

To whom the bisshop shall answer, syngeng:

Summa ingenuitas ista est, in qua servitus Christi comprobatur.

In temp. pas. Alleluya.

And then shall the bisshop standyng styll in the same place, blesse the veyles remaynyng in the virgyns handys, wyth thyes orysons.[17]

Oremus.

Suppliciter te, Domine, rogamus, ut super has vestes tuarum capitibus ancillarum imponendas benedictio tua benigniter descendat: ut sint vestes hæ benedictæ, et consecratæ, et immaculatæ, ac sanctæ hiis ancillis tuis. Per Christum.

Oremus.

Visibilium et invisibilium creator Deus, adesto propitius ut hæc velamina sanctitatis effigiem prætendentia et signum humilitatis ostendentia, gratia tua irrigante bene✠dicere et sanctificare digneris, quæ famulæ tuæ corde et corpore suscipere et consecrare te largiente mereantur. Per Dominum.

℄ And then the virgyns must delyver theyr tapers

[17] Only one, the first, is appointed in the Sarum pontifical.

to oon of theyr sisters: and come to the bisshop by order, oon after an other: and inclynyng theyr bodyes delyver to the bisshop theyr sayde veyles, kyssing his hande. And then shall the bisshop delyver or put uppon yche of theym theyr veyle: saying to every of theym, severally:

Accipe, Christi virgo, velamen virginitatis et continentiæ indicium: per quod Spiritus Sanctus superveniat in te, et virtus altissimi sit tibi obumbraculum contra æstum malarum temptationum. Præstante Domino nostro Jesu Christo. Qui vivit et regnat, &c.

¶ And every virgyn receyvyng hir veyle, bifore the bisshop cast it uppon hir hedde, shall kysse his hande. And every virgyn when she is veylede shall forwyth severally syng:[18]

Ant. Induit me Dominus cyclade auro texta, et immensis monilibus ornavit me. *In t. p.* Alleluya.

Then followeth the benediction of the ryngys in a bassyn, holden by oon of the bisshops chapellains, wyth thyes two orysons.[19]

Oremus.

Creator et conservator humani generis, dator gratiæ spiritualis, et largitor æternæ salutis, tu Domine mitte benedictionem tuam super hos annulos, ut quæ illos gestaverint, sint armatæ virtute cœlestis defensionis, ut proficiant illis ad æternam salutem. Per Christum.

Oremus.

Benedic, Domine Jesu Christe, annulos istos, fidei

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[18] "Si forte contigerit ut seu pudore verecundiæ gravata, sive potius amore cordis et lachrymarum dulcedine præventa sit, ut cantum quem incepit finire non possit, cantrix ecclesiæ vel aliqua alia prompta sit ad subveniendum illi." *Rubr. pontif. Sar.*

[19] Only the first is appointed in the Sarum pontifical.

signacula, quos ancillæ tuæ in signum fœderis tui gestaturæ sunt: ut in tua dilectione perpetue maneant copulatæ, et eas sine macula custodias in æternum. Qui vivis et regnas, cum Deo Patre, &c.

¶ And sparbling of holy water in thende. Whych doon, the bisshop shall ȝeve every virgyn hir ryng: puttyng it uppon hir iiiith fyngor:[20] saying to every oon of theym, severally:

Accipe annulum fidei, signaculum Spiritus Sancti, ut sponsa Dei voceris et sis, atque illum præferas ante agnum, sponsum tuum Christum Jesum, in die cœlestium nuptiarum, si ei fideliter servieris.[21]

¶ And every virgyn, in receyvyng hir ryng, shall syng severally this antiphon:

Annulo suo subarravit me Dominus meus Jesus Christus, et tanquam sponsam decoravit me corona. *In t. p.* Alleluya.

Holdyng hir hande soo hygh that the people may see it. And then shall the bisshop take agayne theyr ryngys severally, and delyver theym agayne: saying to every oon of theym:

Desponso te Jesu Christo Filio summi Patris, qui te illæsam custodiat, et ab omni malo defendat. In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti. Amen.

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[20] The sprinkling of the holy water is not mentioned in the Sarum copy; nor the finger specified. That pontifical also directs the "Desponso te" to be said before the antiphon, without any order for the second receiving and delivery of the rings.

[21] "Come, thow mayden, I here despouse and mary the to Iesu Cryste, who kepe the wythowte blemyshe or blotte, bothe sowle and body. Have and take here yn token of this spirituall spousage this ryng of fayth and fidelyte, the token of the holy goste, and that thow be callyd the spouses of God, yf thow serve hym faythfully and kepe thyself chaste and clene. In nomine, &c." Lansdown MS.

¶. And then shall they syng every of theym by hir selfe:

Ipsi sum desponsata cui angeli serviunt, cujus pulchritudinem sol et luna mirantur. *In t. p.* Alleluya.

¶ Holdyng up hir hande as bifore is sayde, whych ended: the bisshop shall say the oryson:[22]

Te invocamus Domine, sancte Pater, omnipotens æterne Deus, super has famulas tuas quæ tibi voverunt servire pura mente, mundo corde et corpore: ut eas sociare digneris inter illas centum quadraginta quatuor millia quæ virgines permanserunt, et se cum mulieribus non coinquinaverunt, in quorum ore dolus inventus non est, et ita has famulas tuas facias permanere immaculatas usque in finem: per immaculatum Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, cum quo vivis et regnas Deus, in unitate Spiritus Sancti. Per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

¶. And then make the bannes. After that the bannes be made, the virgyns shall take agayn theyr tapers, and retorne to the grece where they were bifore.[23] And there prostrate theymselfe to the long benediction,[24] whych the bisshop tornyng his face towardys the virgyns shall make uppon theym: begynnyng it,

Dominus vobiscum. Oremus.

Respice quæsumus, Domine, propitius has famulas

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[22] Omitted in the Sarum MS., which does not therefore notice "the bannes" but passes on to the prayer "Respice" and the proper preface.

[23] In the Lansdown manuscript the bishop, before he continues the mass, pronounces an anathema against all who attempt to disturb the new nuns or tempt them to break their vows.

[24] i.e. in the preface which follows.

tuas, ut virginitatis sanctæ propositum quod te inspirante susceperunt, te gubernante custodiant: famulas tuas quæsumus, Domine, tua semper gratia benedicat, et inculpabiles ad vitam perducat æternam.[25] Per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum Filium tuum, &c.

Per omnia sæcula sæculorum.

Dominus vobiscum.

Sursum corda.

Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro.

Vere dignum et justum est, æquum et salutare, nos tibi semper et ubique gratias agere, Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, æterne Deus. Castorum[26] corporum benigne habitator et incorruptarum amator animarum,[27] qui humanam substantiam in primis hominibus diabolica fraude vitiatam, ita in verbo per quod omnia facta sunt reparas, ut eam non solum ad primæ originis innocentiam revoces, sed etiam ad experientiam quorundam bonorum quæ in novo sæculo sunt habenda perducas, et obstrictos adhuc conditione mortalium jam ad similitudinem provehas angelorum. Respice, Domine, super has famulas tuas, quæ in manu tua continentiæ suæ propositum collocantes, tibi devotionem suam offerunt, a quo eædem votum assumpserunt. Quando enim animus mortali carne circumdatus legem naturæ, libertatem licentiæ, vim consuetudinis, et stimulos ætatis evinceret, nisi tu per gratiam tuam hunc amorem virginitatis clementer accenderes, nisi et tu hanc cupidi-

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[25] The Sarum pontifical omits this clause, "famulas tuas," and inserts "*submisse*" before the "Per Dominum nostrum."

[26] Nearly the whole of this long preface is in the pontifical of Egbert.

[27] "Deus qui humanam" is the reading of all the three pontificals.

tatem in ejus corde benignus aleres, tu fortitudinem ministrares? Effusa namque in omnes gentes gratia tua ex omni natione quæ sub cœlo est, in stellarum innumerabilem numerum novi testamenti hæredibus adoptatis, inter cæteras virtutes quas filiis tuis non ex sanguinibus, neque ex voluntate carnis, sed de tuo Spiritu genitis indidisti, etiam hoc donum in quarundam mentes de largitatis tuæ fonte defluxit. Ut cum harum nuptias nulla interdicta minuissent, ac super sanctum conjugium tua initialis benedictio permaneret. Existerent tamen sublimiores animæ quæ in viri ac mulieris copula fastidirent connubium, concupiscerent sacramentum. Non hoc concupiscerent quod habet mortale connubium, sed hoc eligerent quod permittit Domini Christi ecclesiæque sacramentum. Nec imitarentur quod nuptiis agitur, sed diligerent quod nuptiis prænotatur. Agnovit auctorem suum beata virginitas, et æmula integritatis angelicæ, illius thalamo, illius cübiculo se devovit, qui sic perpetuæ virginitatis est sponsus, quemadmodum perpetuæ virginitatis est filius. Implorantibus ergo auxilium tuum, Domine, et confirmari se benedictionis tuæ consecratione cupientibus, da protectionis tuæ munimen et regimen, ne hostis antiquus qui excellentiora studia subtilioribus infestat insidiis, ad obscurandam perfectæ continentiæ palmam, per aliquam[28] serpat incuriam, et rapiat de proposito virginum, quod etiam moribus decet inesse nuptarum. Sit in eis, Domine, per donum Spiritus tui prudens modestia,[29] sapiens benignitas, gravis lenitas, casta

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[28] "Per aliquam mentis" is the reading of the pontificals.

[29] From hence, down to "quod sunt professæ," omitted in Egbert's order.

libertas. In caritate fervant, et nihil extra te diligant. Laudabiliter vivant, laudarique non appetant. Te in sanctitate corporis, te in animæ suæ puritate glorificent. Amore te timeant, corporeque casto tibi serviant. Tu eis honor sis: tu gaudium: tu voluptas.[30] Tu in mærore solatium: tu in ambiguitate sis consilium. Tu in injuria defensio: in tribulatione patientia: in paupertate abundantia: in jejunio cibus: in infirmitate sis eis medicus et medicina.[31] Te in mente habeant, et in te habeant omnia quæ diligere appetunt super omnia. Quod sunt professæ custodiant, scrutatori pectorum non corpore placituræ sed mente. Transeant in numerum sapientum puellarum: ut cœlestem sponsum accensis lampadibus cum oleo præparationis expectent, nec turbatæ in proviso regis adventu, sed securæ cum lumine præcedentium virginum choro jocanter occurrant, nec excludantur cum stultis, sed regalem januam cum sapientibus virginibus licenter introeant, et in Agni tui perpetuo comitatu probabili[32] mansuræ castitate permaneant. Per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, Filium tuum, qui tecum vivit et regnat in unitate ejusdem.

Benedicat[33] vos Deus, Pater et Filius et Spiritus

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[30] "Tu voluntas," Sarum and Bangor MSS. "voluptas," Winchester MS.

[31] "In infirmitate medicina," all the pontificals. The Bangor and Sarum MSS. omit the "Te in mente habeant" immediately succeeding.

[32] "Probabiles," Sarum and Bangor. There are several unimportant variations between the MSS. in this benediction which I have not thought it necessary to notice.

[33] The Bangor pontifical directs the veil to be put on at this time: and both that and the Sarum omit the succeeding benediction, which is however in the Winchester copy. They appoint instead the prayer "Te invocamus," which has already been said according to the order of the text.

Sanctus, omni benedictione spirituali, ut maneatis incorruptæ, inviolatæ, et immaculatæ sub vestimento sanctæ Mariæ, matris Domini nostri Jesu Christi. Amen.

Requiescat super vos spiritus septiformis Dei, spiritus sapientiæ et intellectus, spiritus consilii et fortitudinis, spiritus scientiæ et pietatis, repleat vos spiritus timoris Domini. Amen.

Fragilitates vestras Dominus solidet, fidei constantia vos corroboret, validasque confirmet, pietate allevet, miseratione conservet. Amen.

Mentes vestras dirigat,[34] cogitationes sanctas in vobis instituat. Amen.

Actus vestros probet: opera bona in vobis perficiat: caritate vos ædificet: sapientia vos illuminet: castitate vos muniat: scientia vos instruat. Amen.

In virtute multiplicet: in sanctitate sublimet: ad sapientiam vos præparet: ad obedientiam vos subdat: in humilitate prosternat. Amen.

Ad continentiam vobis det fortitudinem: reddat vos sobrias: protegat pudicas: in infirmitate visitet: in dolore vos relevet: in temptatione vos erigat: in conversatione custodiat: in prosperitate vos temperet: in iracundia vos mitiget: iniquitatem in vobis emendet. Amen.

Infundat in vobis gratiam: remittat vobis offensas: tribuat disciplinam: ut hiis et similibus virtutibus fultæ, et sanctis operibus illustratæ, illa semper studeatis agere, quæ digna fiant Deo in æterna remuneratione. Amen.

Illum habeatis testem quem habituræ estis judicem, atque ita aptare vos studete, ut præfulgentem gestetis

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[34] "Mentem tuam regat: vias tuas dirigat." Winchester MS.

in manibus lampadem, sicque intraturæ sponsi thalamum, occurratis venienti cum gaudio, ut nihil in vobis reperiat fœtidum, nihil sordidum, nihil incultum, nihil corruptum, nihil inhonestum, sed niveam et candidam animam corpusque lucidum atque splendidum. Amen.

Itaque cum dies ille tremendus remunerationis justorum, retributionis malorum, advenit, non inveniat in vobis ultrix flamma quod urat, sed divina pietas quod coronet, quas jam in hoc sæculo conversatio religiosa mundavit. Amen.

Hincque tribunal etiam regis ascensuræ celsaque palatia, cum eisdem mereamini portionem qui sequuntur agnum et cantant canticum novum sine cessatione, illic percepturæ præmium post laborem, semperque maneatis in regione viventium, atque ipse bene✠dicat vos de cœlis, qui per crucis passionem humanum genus dignatus est redimere in terris, Jesus Christus Dominus noster. Qui cum coæterno Patre et Spiritu Sancto in Trinitate perfecta vivit et regnat Deus. Per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

¶ And the benediction sayde:[35] the virgyns shall erecte theym selfe: and the bisshop shall torne to the aulter: and then to the quoyre, syngeng: *Dominus vobiscum.* And then torne to the aulter and syng, *Oremus.* Wyth thoffertory. And after

[35] "*Tunc episcopus convertens se ad populum dicat,* Dominus vobiscum: *et* Oremus. *Cantor incipiat offertorium, postea puella committens alicui cereum suum offerat ad manus episcopi oblationem panis et vini, unde post missam communicetur: et recedens iterum accipiat cereum, et stet inclinata vel prostrata ante altare a longe usque communicet, et missa ordine suo finiatur.*" Rubr. Pontif. Sar.

thoffertory he shall torne to the virgyns then professede, to receyve theyr oblacyons, whych virgyns shall then delyver theyr tapers to some of theyr systers, and then oon after an other by order begynnyng at the eldest, shall offer an host and wyne at the bisshops hande, for theyr communion under thys fourme and maner folowing.

¶. Every virgyn shall have a long sudary or towell uppon both hir handys, and in the ryght hande she shall have a patine wyth an host: and in the left hande a cruette wyth wyne. And then commyng by ordre to offer, they shall shyft the hoste fromme theyr patines to the patine that the deacon holdeth, and then delyver theyr cruettys to the bisshop, kyssyng hys hande: wherof the bisshop shall some deale put in to the chalice whych is preparede for theym after theyr communion. And that doon the bisshop shall drawe dowen theyr veyles byneth and under theyr yen, unto theyr noses. And then shall every oon by hir selfe, as the bisshop draweth dowen hir veyle, syng:

Posuit signum in faciem meam, ut nullum præter eum amatorem admittam.

And then shall they take agayne theyr tapers: and be ledde somewhat frome the aulter, and stande there a rowe on the north syde, to thofferyng of the other folkys be doon: whych offeryng ended, the sermone shal be sayde by the bisshop, or suche a clerc as he shall appoynt. The whych fynysshede, the virgyns shal be brought agayne to the aulter grece: where they were bifore. And there lyegh prostrate unto the holy communion. And the bisshop shall after thofferyng and sermone prosequute

the masse unto *Pax Domini*, bifore the *Agnus Dei.*[36]

ℭ. And then torne to the virgyns and ȝeve them the propre benediction.

Effunde quæsumus, Domine, benedictionem cœlestem super has famulas tuas *N.* sorores nostras, quæ devotis mentibus se humiliant sub dextra tua: protege eas protectione divina, fugiant universa delicta, socientque sibi bona desideria, ut præparatæ regni cœlestis sancta conquirant lucra. Amen.

Pareant semper divinis præceptis, ut te adjuvante vincant incendia carnis, omnemque libidinem pravæ voluptatis, superent amore castitatis, habeant in se oleum sanctitatis, et lætentur cum lampadibus sempiternis. Amen.

Gestent in manibus suis faces sanctas, ut apud sapientes castissimasque animas, duce Christo, introire mereantur januam regni cœlestis. Amen. Quod ipse præstare dignetur, cujus regnum et imperium sine fine permanet in sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

Benedictio[37] Dei omnipotentis, Patris ✠ et Filii et

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[36] "*Item ante* Agnus Dei, *episcopalis benedictio.*" Pontif. Sar. So the Winchester MS.: but not specially noticed in the Bangor pontifical.

[37] This benediction is not in the Sarum or Winchester pontificals. Here the latter manuscript concludes this office: with the rubric, "*Post missam offerat virgo cereum super altare, et discedat cum pace.*" The Sarum pontifical does not include the rubrics as to the communion: but immediately after the proper episcopal benediction has, "Postea communione cantata, dicat episcopus collectam missæ ad complendum. Quo facto, offerat virgo cereum suum in manu episcopi vel super altare, et episcopus attrahat velamen præ oculis faciem ejus cooperiendo. Tunc cantet quælibet per se ant. 'Posuit signum.' Et sic deinceps in summo silentio permaneant usque in tertium diem, nihil omnino illorum vestimentorum quæ in benedictione habuerint exuentes vel mutantes, nisi

Spiritus Sancti, descendat super vos et maneat semper. Amen.

℄. And that doon, retorne to the aulter to say the *Agnus Dei*. And to receyve hys holy communion. And after hys awen communion, he shall howsell the virgyns there that day professede, knelyng at the sayde aulter grece: in order, wyth *Confiteor*, *Misereatur*, and *Absolutionem*. Theyr veyles hitherto coveryng theyr facys as afore. And then they shall receyve wyne, of a prestys hande standyng at the sayde grece as the maner is. And after that, yet standyng in the same place, they shall there syng together:

Ecce, quod concupivi jam video, quod speravi jam teneo, illi sum juncta in cœlis quem in terris posita tota devotione dilexi.

And then knele dowen. And when the bisshop hath sayde, *Placeat tibi sancta Trinitas*, he shall torne hym to the virgyns, and there every oon of theym by order shall fyrste kysse hys hande, and delyver hym hir taper, taryeng the bisshops benediction, whych he shall ȝeve theym all, saying:

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tantum subtalares pedum, sed in die noctuque psalmis, hymnis, et canticis spiritualibus, magis devotione cordis quam modulatione vocis Domino Christo, cui se devoverunt, jugiter servire intendant, ad omnes horas usque in tertium diem ultimæ stabunt. Hiis peractis recedant ab altari in vestiarium cantantes: resp. 'Regnum mundi.'" This concludes the office in that pontifical. The Bangor is much erased in this part; but sufficient remains to show that the regulations were similar according to the use of that Church: and it adds rules, such as are in the text, as to the full reception at the chapter on the ninth day. "Donec die nona conventu in capitulo residente, abbatissa coram omnibus eas advocet, et stantibus ante se, præcipiat ut dicant, 'Benedicite:' et ex tunc, ubi et unde necesse fuerit, det eis licentiam loquendi more solito."

Benedicat vos omnipotens Deus, Pater ✠ et Filius ✠ et Spiritus Sanctus ✠. Amen.[38]

And then shall thabbasse pull theyr veyles dowen to beneth theyr chynnes: and then shall the virgyns be ledde in to the quoyre, and in theyr departyng and goyng, syng:

Regnum mundi et omnem ornatum sæculi contempsi, propter amorem Domini mei Jesu Christi. Quem vidi, quem amavi, in quem credidi, quem dilexi.

V. Eructavit cor meum verbum bonum: dico ego opera mea regi. Quem.

And frome thensforth they must contynue .iij. days in extreme silence: noo worde to any person spekyng. And every oone of those thre dayes every of thyes newe professed virgyns muste at the hye masse offre brede and wyne and also after masse be communed and howseld. And noo parte of theyr vestures, garmentys, or clothes, change or put of,

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[38] According to the Lincoln use the bishop after the benediction thus exhorted the abbess: "Dowghter abbes, ladye and mother of this monasterye, here I bequeth these ladyes now consecrate unto you, and afore thies witnesse make delyverance of them to yo[r] hande, and here afore God charge yow w[t] them. See that ye kepe them yn vertue, &c. . . . and that ye present them clene, pure, and immaculate at the day of jugement afore the trybunall of theyr spowse and savyo[r] Jesus Criste, to whome ye shall then make answere and give accompte for them, yo[r] sowle for thers, &c." Lansdown MS.

It is worth remarking, as some sign of the mode of addressing nuns in the fifteenth century, that the bishop before he gives this solemn admonition to the abbess is directed to offer a few words of advice to the newly consecrated nuns: beginning thus: "Dowghters and virgyns, now that ye are maryed and despowsed to hym that is above kyng and kaysor, unto Iesu Cryste, mete it is and so must you from hensforthe yn tokyn of the same be callyd madame and ladye."

day nother nyght: theyr choes, sokkys, and guyrdles oonly excepte: but contynually both day and nyght, excepte oonly the howres of refection, intende to the servyce of oure Lorde Christe Jesu, theyr spouse and avowrye: and that in lawdes and songs spirituall: and yet more in devotion of mynde and herte, then in thexquisite modulacion of theyr toyne and voyce. And all howres in the quoyre they must thes .iij. dayes stande in the lowghest place. And the thryd day shall be song masse of the resurrection, and before that they receave the blessyd sacrament, whyles that the *Agnus Dei* is a syngyng, they shalbe broght unto the abbasse. And she shall kysse them oone after an other. And then shall they retorne agayne unto the aulter and be howselde. When that is doon, then shall the abbasse lyfte up theyr veyles fromme theyr faces. And fromme that tyme forthe, they shall were and goo and cumme as other of the convent doth. Excepte that syxe dayes after thys, they muste kepe and observe moste strayghte silence. And the sexte day, when all the convent be in the chapitre, the abbasse there before them all, shall calle the newe professed mynchyns unto hyr, and commaunde them standyng before hyr to say, *Benedicite.* And fromme that tyme forthe she shall gyffe them licence to goo and cumme: and also to speke when nede shall requyre, after the custume of the place approvyde.[39]

[39] Here I may add a form of consent to accept the office of abbess, as entered in the register of bishop Lacy of Exeter: "I suster Johan Arundell, mynchyn of the monastery of synt John the apostell and evangeliste, and Etheldrede the virgyn of Canonleigh and the order of seynt Austeyn in the diocesis of Excet, order and rule of the holy fader seynt Austyn in the saide monastery

¶. And over all thies, they may and muste observe both thys day of theyr profession and that others foloweng many other religyose cerimonyes and governancys after the custume of theyr places, soo that they be not contrary to the rewle or the lawe of holy churche, ne to goode maners, neyther to thies premisses.

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expresse professid, yn lafull age ysette, electe yn abbasse of the said monastery, and ofte with instaunce and grete requeste yn the party of my susteryn and mynchyns of the saide monastery requirid that to the election of hem of me I made that I scholde yeve my consente, I the forsaide Johan willyng not to withstande ne contradie the will of Almyghty Godde, to the worshipp of the blessed Trinite, Fader, Sone, and Holy Gost, also to the worshipp of seynt Johan apostell and evangeliste, and seynt Etheldrede the holy virgyn, yn whos namys and worshypp oure conventuale churche abovesaide is worthily and holily is halwid, beyng yet yune the tyme of laws, as I am enformed, to yeve my consent aforesaide to the foresaide eleccyon by my susteris abovesaide of me made, I consente by this present wrytyng." A. D. 1449. *Oliver*, Monast. Exon. p. 225.

The Manner to make a Nun.[40]

Here bygyns þe manere forto make a nun. at þe first begynnyng þe mese salbe of our lady; þe offece of þe mese salbe *Salve sancta parens.* þe epistil & þe godspel & all þe tother salbe als þe tyme of þe ȝer askes. Att þe bygynnyng of þe mese þe madyn þt salbe mayde nun sal sit in þe quere apon a stole befor þe priores stayle, wt hir profese in hir hand. And at þe offerand tyme þe priores sal lede þe madyn til to þe toumbe in mydes þe quere, & þer sal scho betech hir until hir next frendes and þai sal lede hir up unto þe hegh auter; and þe priores and þe convent sal folow up unto þe auter. And þen hir frendes sal offer hir up tyl þe auter, and þan byken hir to þe priores agayn; and þe same tyme al þt wil may offir; and þen þay al sal sit down & here þe preching, and scho wt hir professe boke in hir hand. And when þe preching es done þe priores sal hafe hir befor þe auter & uncleth hir of hir seculere clething, and in þe same tyme þe prelet sall halow his habete wtoutyn note; þer sayand, *Dominus vobis: Deus qui vestimentum*, &c.

Þe blissing our þe vayle. *Dominus vobiscum. Caput omnium fidelium*, &c.

Efter þeir orisons kast haly watter open þe clethyng, and þan þe prelete sal gyf þe madyn hir clethyng: first hir cote, sayand wtouten note, *Accipe vestem.*

[40] From the Cotton manuscript in the British museum, Vespasian, A. xxv. fol. 129.

And sythen sal þe prelate gif hir þe mantill sayand, *Accipe vestem, ut supra.*

After þis þen sal þe prelete w^t^ a payr of schers begyn forto kut hir hair before, at þe toppyng, sayand, *In nomine patris et filii:* behind, *et spiritus sancti; Amen,* on ayer side. and þen sal þe priores kut oway þe remnaunt of þe hair and þen sal þe prelete gif hir hir wimpil sayand *Accipe peplum sacrum puella,* &c.

And þan þe prelete sal lay þe vayle apon hir hede, sayand, *Accipe velum sacrum,* &c.

And þan sal he gif hir þe girdyl sayand, *Accipe ȝonam,* &c. þis orison *Accipe* salbe sayd at iij thynges: þ^t^ es to wit, at þe gyfyng of þe wimpil & of þe vayle & of þe girdyl, als it es sayd befor. After þis sal þ^t^ nun novece stand stil befor þe auter and rede hir professe w^t^ note, sayand; *Ego, soror N. deo data promitto,* &c.

þe profession on English. I sister N giffyn to God I hete my stabilnes and turnyng of my maners & buxsumnes, efter þe rule of sant Benett, befor God & all his halows in þis mynster, þ^t^ es set in þe wirchep of sant N in þe presence of dayme N priores.

When scho hase red hir professe scho sal wend up to þe auter and lay hir profession boke apon þe auter, & þe ryng w^t^al, and þan þe priores sal wind or lap þe maydyn handes in þe halowed towel of þe auter, & þan sal þ^t^ nun nouece gay down benethen þe grece of þe auter, turnand hir up unto þe auter standand, & sayand þis vers w^t^ note: *Suscipe me domine secundum eloquium tuum et vivam.* And in þas wordes sayng sal scho fall down to þe erth, and þan rise up & turn hir to þe pepil sayand, *Et non confundas me ab exspectatione mea:* and lowte, and þis vers sal scho

say iij tymes on þis maner; and þis same vers al þe congregacion þat es to wit al þe convent sal answer thris, sayand w^t^outyn note, *Suscipe me domine*, &c. w^t^ *Gloria patri;* and þan *Kyriel, Kyriel Xpte, Kyriel pater noster*. And þan sal þe nun be layd down grofelyng on lenghe befor þe ryght end of þe auter; and þan þe prelet sal say oue hir w^t^ note, *Et ne nos*, &c.

And þan sal þe prelete kneland befor þe auter begyn w^t^ note þe yme, *Veni creator spiritus*. And þe quere sal syng þe same vers to end, and þe prelete sal begyn ilka vers of þe yme kneland. & when he hase sayd all þ^t^ vers til end he sal stand up to þe tyme he begyn anoyer vers, & on þis maner sal he do til þe tyme all be endydde, & þe quere sal syng þe remnant, *Veni creator spiritus*, &c. When *Veni creator* es endyd þe prelete sal say over hir w^t^ note þer orysons, *Sancte spiritus quem te deum ac dominum*, &c.

And þan cast hali water apon hir; also encens hir. And þe priores & þe convent sal þen go down into þe qwere in to þe stalles: & þan sal þe subpriores lede þe ʒong nun to þe priores, & scho sal hald up both hir handes; and þe priores sal tak hir handes betwene hir handes & kis hir; & swa sal scho mak hir obedience: & swa forth til al þe convent: & þan sall scho be set in þe uttermest stale in þe quere unto þe *Agnus dei* of þe mese be down: & þen sal þe subpriores lede hir up to þe auter: & qwen þe prelete hase usede[41] & rinsede þan sal scho

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[41] That is, when the bishop had finished making his communion. We find the same word in the Mirrour of oure Ladye: "in tyme of Agnus dei and whyle the preste vsyth, ye oughte to dyspose you ful dylygently and deuoutly." fol. clxxxix. So, in

be howseld of hym; & þan sal þe quere sing þe comune of þe mese, & þen sal þe subpriores lede hir befor þe lady autere & þair sal scho sit in hir prayers unto þe mete tym. and þes iij days sal scho not spek unto þe iiij day þt scho hafe leue of þe priores. And at evyn when scho es in hir bede þe priores & þe convent sal cum up into þe dortour & þe prest & þe clerk w^t^ torch lyght forto halow hir bed, & he sal say w^t^outyn note, *Ecce non dormitabit neque dormiet*, &c.

And efter þis orison sal he say *In principio.:* & when þ^t^ es sayd þen sal he kest haly water, & encence hir & þe bede: and þe ij nyghtes efter þe convent sal do þe same. *Amen.*

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the Hereford missal, the rubric for Passion sunday directs, "*Hac die sacerdos, postquam dixeret orationes usque ad usum, antequam utatur, cantet,*" &c.

The Office for King Henry the Sixth, and Indulgences in English.

The Office for King Henry the Sixth.

THIS office is not in all editions of the horæ: and, so far as I know, is to be found only in the larger and more full editions which were printed in quarto. The office is included in the horæ published by Byrckman in 1516; by Ruremund in 1520 and 1531; by Wynkyn de Worde in 1502; by Pynson in 1522; and in the several quarto editions by Regnault. It usually precedes the offices for St. Roch, and for St. Edward the martyr.

We need not be surprised that the memory of Henry the sixth was held in great reverence after his death; not merely party prejudices and a natural sympathy for his sufferings and trials during a long life, but admiration of his private virtues and undoubted piety and meekness, would have served to nourish feelings of such a kind. There is no evidence of any formal act of canonisation; but the twenty-second day of May was set apart in his honour. I have added also a prayer which includes a petition to him as beatified and is said to have been composed by pope Sixtus the fourth. This is in one of the Harleian manuscripts.

The office for king Henry is drawn up simply and with moderation of language. The same can scarcely be said of another office, which is to be

found in a few manuscripts, in honour of a person of very doubtful reputation, Thomas earl of Lancaster, the grandson of Henry the third. It is not easy to understand how the use of such an office could have been in any way permitted—even if we may not almost say authorised—by the then rulers of the Church of England. It seems, however, to have soon passed away into neglect: and the devotion (if it may so be called) to Thomas of Lancaster gradually grew colder and colder as time went on, and the report of miracles said by unscrupulous partisans to have been wrought at his tomb rapidly became less and less believed in.

The office for Thomas of Lancaster has been printed in "Documents relating to St. Paul's cathedral;" and also by the Camden society, among "the political songs of England."

De beato rege Henrico.

Antiphona. Rex Henricus sis amicus, nobis in angustia.
Cujus prece nos a nece salvemur perpetua;
Lampas morum, spes ægrorum, ferens medicamina;
Sis tuorum famulorum, ductor ad cœlestia;
Pax in terra, non sit guerra, orbis per confinia;
Virtus crescat; et fervescat charitas per omnia;
Non sudore vel dolore, moriamur subito;
Sed vivamus et plaudamus cœlis sine termino.
℣. Ora pro nobis, devote rex Henrice.
℟. Ut per te cuncti superati sint inimici.

Oratio. Præsta quæsumus omnipotens et misericors Deus, ut qui devotissimi regis Henrici merita miraculis fulgentia piæ mentis affectu recolimus in terris: ejus et omnium sanctorum tuorum intercessionibus ab omni peste, febre, morbo, ac improvisa morte cæterisque eruamur malis: et gaudia superna adipisci mereamur. Per dominum nostrum Jesum Christum filium tuum. Qui tecum.

De beato rege Henrico.

Hanc orationem summus pontifex Sixtus Romæ quartus composuit, ad laudem et honorem gloriosissimi regis Henrici regis Angliæ post conquestum sexti.

Beatus rex Henricus pauperum et ecclesiæ defensor ad misericordiam pronus, in caritate fervidus, et pietati deditus, clerum decoravit quem Deus sic amavit. Ora pro nobis, beate Henrice, pauperum et ecclesiæ protector et amice, ut digni efficiamur promissionibus Christi.

Oremus. Deus, qui beatum regem Henricum tuum sanctum militem ecclesiæ defensorem et pauperum amicum in omnibus adversis perfectæ caritatis amore decorasti, præsta quæsumus ut ejus exempla sequentes tam in mundi prosperis quam in ejus adversis perfecto corde tibi serviamus, qui vivis in gloria, regnans cum potentia, moderans ac regnans cuncta sæcula. Amen.[1]

Salutatio gloriosi militis Christi, Henrici regis Angliae sexti, cum oratiuncula brevi.

Salve miles pretiose, rex Henrice generose,
Palmes vitis cœlicæ;
In radice caritatis, vernans flore sanctitatis,
Vitæque angelicæ.
Salve flos nobilitatis, laus et honor dignitatis,
Seu coronæ regiæ;

[1] Harl. MS. 5793.

Pie pater orphanorum, vera salus populorum,
Robur et ecclesiæ.
Salve forma pietatis, exemplar humilitatis,
Decus innocentiæ,
Vi oppressis vel turbatis, mœstis atque desolatis,
Scola patientiæ.
Salve fax supernæ lucis, per quam servi summi ducis
Illustrantur undique;
Dum virtute lucis veræ, meruisti præfulgere
Tantis signis gratiæ.
Salve quem rex sæculorum, choris jungens angelorum,
Civem fecit patriæ,
Te laudare cupientes, fac ut semper sint fruentes
Tecum vita gloriæ. Amen.

Versus. Veniant ad te qui detrahebant tibi; et adorent vestigia pedum tuorum.

Oratio. Salus et salvator omnium in te credentium, piissime domine Jesu Christe, qui dilectum famulum tuum regem Henricum variis tribulationum pressuris opprimi voluisti, ut ex ejus patientiæ et innocentissimæ vitæ meritis, quasi quibusdam botris uberrimis, copiosa tuæ gratiæ dulcedo per miraculorum gloriam distillaret in plebem, largire quæsumus eos omnes qui tantæ ejus gloriæ congratulantes aut illum propter te aut in illo te potius glorificando dignis gestiunt collaudare præconiis, ipsius beatitudinis consortium, et hic habere per meritum, et in futuro consequi per effectum, qui cum Deo Patre et Spiritu sancto vivis et gloriaris Deus per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.[2]

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[2] Royal MS. 13. C. viij.

Indulgences.

Many Latin indulgences have been printed in various publications; lately, not to mention others, a series from the archives of the cathedral of St. Paul, by the Camden society. English forms are far more rare; and the few which are still extant have chiefly been found pasted into the inside of the covers of books printed between 1500 and 1530. I now give two of these: one is in a private collection; the other in the Bodleian library.

The objects for which indulgences of this kind were published included a variety of charitable deeds. Very often for the building and repairing of churches; sometimes for redeeming captives; sometimes in behalf of travellers and pilgrims; sometimes, again, for the benefit of some religious house or confraternity.

We find numerous "indulgenced" prayers and short devotions in the horæ and prymers; especially in the large quarto editions. To take one only, that by Regnault in 1527. The series begins with a grant of "xxxij M. vij hondred and lv yeres of pardon" for prayers said "before thys ymage of pyte." Then "iij M dayes of pardon for deedly synnes" for a prayer devoutly said after the elevation at mass; several short prayers with "a hondred dayes" and "vij yeres;" then a longer devotion with the following rubric prefixed:—

"¶ Our holy father Sixtus the iiij hath graunted

to all them that be in the state of grace sayenge thys prayer folowyng immediatly after the eleuacyon of the body of our lorde, clene remission of all theyr synnes perpetually enduryngе. And also John the iiij pope of rome at the request of the quene of englonde hath graunted to all them that deuoutly say thys prayer before the ymage of our lorde crucified as many dayes of pardon as there were woundes in the body of our lorde in the tyme of hys bytter passyon, the whyche were v. M. iiij hondred iij."

A dozen more prayers and short offices succeed this; with various periods of pardon granted to each; ranging from a hundred years to ten hundred thousand years. It is not for me to discuss here the questions which are mixed up with these indulgences; and, in fact, I do not understand the principle on which for so many ages they were continually published: certainly, however, so far as the appointed though varying number of years and days is concerned, this is to be traced and owes its origin to the ancient penitentials of the sixth and seventh centuries. And I would only observe further, that indulgences probably had in those days a good effect in inducing people to repent and pray, who otherwise might have neglected altogether both prayer and repentance. More especially it must never be forgotten that the whole value of the prayers entirely depended upon their being said by persons who, having previously been to the sacrament of penance and having also (in most cases) received holy communion, were in a state of grace. This doctrine and this condition were thoroughly and at all times taught and insisted on by the clergy, and as thoroughly understood by

the people. The lying accusation of modern days that indulgences and remission of penance for mortal sin could be obtained by money, or by any means whatever by persons impenitent or who still intended to commit a sin, was unknown in the middle ages.

Indulgence.[3]

The benynge grete power and vertue of our holy fader the pope July the seconde[4] that now is as lieutenant[5] of God in erthe, consyderynge that our poor crysten bredren ben withholden, tourmented, and martyred, nyght and day in the handes of the cursed dogges, saracyns, enmyes of our lorde Jesu crystes faythe, and ben in daunger for to renounce god our creatour, the holy faythe catholyke, and the holy sacrament of baptisme, fro the whiche god kepe us for his infynyte mercy. That as many tymes and as often as the sayd benefactours gyueth of theyr goodes for to gaynbye[6] our poore crysten bredren, our sayd holy fader the pope them gyueth fyue yeres and fyue lentes of true pardon and of true indulgence, remyssyon of theyr synnes, and in remyssyon of theyr paynes of purgatory. Tocyens quocyens.

¶ Also of specyall grace four and twenty cardy-

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[3] This is a broadside, printed therefore only on one side of the paper; folio size. It is not easy to guess at who the printer was: the types are somewhat battered, and look as if from an old fount of Wynkyn de Worde.

At the top of the leaf are three small woodcuts. Upon the left a coat of arms; a shield with a tree in full leaf, surmounted with the papal tiara, and the crossed keys at the back of the shield. In the middle is our Lord on the cross between the thieves. On the right is a shield with the royal arms of England. There are two copies of this indulgence in the Bodleian library: both evidently taken from the covers of the same book. The press mark is B. 2. 18. Arc.

[4] Elected 1503: died 1513.

[5] I remember no other example of this title so used.

[6] A form of the old "aȝenbie," at this time dying out?

nalles of the holy counceyle apostolyke of Rome consyderynge the grete tyrannyes and harmes that our sayd poore crysten bredren suffre eche of them, of theyr benynge graces gyueth an hondred dayes of true pardon and of true indulgence, remyssyon of theyr synnes. Tocyens quociens.

¶ And fyrst the reuerent fader in god my lorde the cardynall of Hostye gyueth an hondred dayes of true pardon.

¶ And my lorde the cardynall of saynt George gyueth an hondred dayes of pardon.

[Then follow in like manner the other cardinals.]

¶ Also the foure general ordres at Rome dayly prayeth for the good state and prosperyte of all them yt helpeth, socoureth or dooth theyr charytable almesses unto ye sayd marchauntes.

¶ The somme of the pardons is fyue yeres and fyue lentes, and two thousande foure hondred and viij score dayes, and true indulgence to euery benefactour; tociens quociens.

Indulgence.[7]

The holy and great indulgence and pardon of plenary remission a pena et culpa graunted by dyverse popes and newly confirmed with many amplycacions [*sic*] of our most holy father godes vycar upon erth, pope Leo the .x. that nowe is, unto the holy hospytall of the holy ghost, otherwyse called the hospytall of Seynt spiryte within the holy cytie of Rome, at the commaundemēt of our moost drede soueraygne lorde kyng Henry the .viij. ben examyned by the most reverend father in God my lord archebysshop of Caunterbury prymat of England and legate of the see apostolyke of Rome, with dyuerse other doctours of bothe the lawes, is Institute, publysshed, and erected in the conuentuale howse of the Graye Freers within the towne of ypswhiche, In the whiche howse be deputed confessours lawfull for the same.

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[7] A broadside on a narrow piece of paper, seemingly printed by Pynson.

Occasional Forms.

Occasional Forms.

The remaining offices in this volume are the form of "bidding the bedes," as observed in the cathedral church of Salisbury; the form of healing; the form of blessing cramp-rings; and some English forms of exhortation before communion, and at the visitation of the sick. These will require only a few brief remarks.

As regards the forms of bidding prayer, I would refer the reader to a little volume published in Oxford about forty years ago under that title, in which he will find a large collection of them of various dates from the fourteenth century down to the present time. These have been obtained by much research from very curious sources; and an useful introduction is prefixed by the editor, my old and very dear friend, the late Rev. H. O. Coxe, Bodley's librarian. The form which I have now printed is not only different from any hitherto published, but is especially valuable and important as being that which was used in the cathedral itself of the diocese of Sarum. Some of the names, of bishops and others, which add a further interest to the form and serve to identify it, have been retained.[1]

The bidding prayer was ordered to be continued after Henry the eighth had thrown off the supremacy of the pope; putting the name of the sovereign in the first place. "Whosoever shall preach in the

[1] Other forms have been printed by canon Simmons, with valuable notes, in the appendix to his edition of the Layman's mass book, for the early English text society.

presence of the king's highness shall, in the bidding of the beads, pray for the whole Catholic Church, as well quick as dead. Item, the preachers in all places of this realm, not in the presence of the king's highness, shall pray first as is above ordained, adding thereunto in the second part for all archbishops and bishops, and for the whole clergy of this realm; and for [the nobility] and the whole temporalitie of this realm; and, finally, for the souls of all them that be dead, and specially for such as it shall please the preacher to name."[2]

During the reign of Edward the bidding of prayer for the dead and for the pope was not permitted: but in the reign of queen Mary was restored. Machyn, in his diary, has some entries which relate to it: "The xxiij day of July dyd pryche at Powlles crosse master Harpfeld, and he dyd praye in ys bedes for the kyng and quene, etc." On "the ix day of December dyd pryche at Poulles cross doctur Borne, and prayd for the pope of Rome, and for alle the solles of purgatory."[3]

The form of healing is the Latin form, with an English title and English rubrics, published "by his

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[2] Concilia, tom. 4. p. 783.

[3] Edited by the Camden society, pp. 66, 78. Books were sometimes left to churches in order that the donor might be remembered in the bidding prayer: "Do et lego Deo et ecclesiæ beatæ Mariæ unum novum missale, &c., ita ut rectores ejusdem ecclesiæ habeant animam meam recommendatam in orationibus suis dominicalibus faciendis." York wills, Surtees society, part 1. p. 64.

Piers Plowman alludes to the general desire which all people had that they might be remembered in the bidding prayer or, at least, in the "Memorare" at mass: in his "testament" he says that he hopes the priest will—

"......... haue me in hus masse,
And menge me in hus memorie, among alle cristine."

Pass. ix. l. 102.

majesty's command" in 1686. It is stated to be that which was used in the time of king Henry the seventh. I am not aware that it has been printed since that reign as a separate book, nor do I know any edition except the one now lying before me, in 4to. The form entirely in English, prayers as well as rubrics, occurs in some of the Common prayer books of the reigns of Charles the first and second, James the second, and queen Anne: it was also printed separately in 12mo. in the reign of James the second. These English forms all vary: and a new one appears to have been drawn up for each sovereign. Bishop Sparrow reprinted that of the reign of Charles the second.[4]

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[4] Collection of articles, &c., p. 165. A letter, dated 1712, is in the Bodleian library from Dr. Hickes to Hearne in which is the following passage: "I have enquired" he says "after the family of one Mr. Martin Lippiard, a famous apothecary in Oxford in my younger days. He had a daughter full of sores with the king's evil, whom her father carried behind him on horseback to king Charles the first, when he was prisoner in Holmby house, where she was touched by the king, and was perfectly cured in a little time, and married and had children. This story is certainly true."

When James the second visited Oxford in 1687 he touched more than 700 people on a sunday at the cathedral, and some also on the next day. Life of Anthony à Wood, p. 281.

Bishop Bull has said, in his sermon on St. Paul's thorn in the flesh, "the gift of curing diseases, without the help of art or nature, was a gift of God to his apostles, that they could not exercise it arbitrarily, but only to whom, when, where, and how God pleased: that so the glory of all the wonderful cures wrought by them might at last redound to God the author, and not to man the instrument. And perhaps this is the best account that can be given of the relic and remainder of the primitive miraculous gift of healing, for some hundreds of years past, visible in this our nation, and annexed to the succession of our Christian kings: I mean the cure

The office of blessing cramp-rings is printed from a manuscript in my possession, of about the year 1685, bound up with an edition in 12mo. of the form of healing. I do not remember to have seen any other copy of this office in English, and it seemed therefore desirable to preserve the record of so curious a ceremony. The Latin form as drawn up for queen Mary in 1554 is printed by Burnet[5] and by Wilkins.[6]

On the flyleaf of the volume of which I have just spoken is the following memorandum: "In ancient times it was a custom with the kings of England on Good Friday to hallow, with great ceremony, certain rings, the wearing of which was believed to prevent the falling sickness. These rings were called cramp-rings, and the MS. in this volume is the service dedicated to their consecration. In Borde's Breviarie of health [1547], speaking of the cramp, we are told that 'the kynge's maiestie hath a greate helpe in the matter, in halowing cramp-rings, and so given without money or petition.' Lord Berners, the translator of Froissart, when ambassador to the emperor Charles V, wrote from Saragossa 'to my lorde cardinall's grace' in 1518 for some 'crampe rynges, with trust to bestowe theyme well, with God's grace.'"

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of that otherwise generally incurable disease, called the king's evil. That divers persons desperately labouring under it have been cured by the mere touch of the royal hand is unquestionable, unless the faith of all our ancient writers, and the consentient report of hundreds of most credible persons of our own age, attesting the same, be to be questioned." Works, vol. i. p. 133.

[5] Hist. Reform. records, part 2. B. ij. No. 25.

[6] Concilia, tom. 4. p. 103.

Margaret Mylynton in 1516 bequeaths to "my dame Croche my best gown and a kercheve, and my cramp-ring."[7] In the appendix to the very valuable collection of accounts of churchwardens, etc., printed in the year 1797, is a list of the new-year's gifts presented by queen Mary in 1556: among which we find; "Item, deliuerid by the queins commandement—to the said Robert Raynes, in broken golde, to make crampe rings: etc. Item, more deliuerid the same time, to make cramp ringes, in broke plate of silu' theise parcelles, etc."[8]

[7] Registry of wills: archdeaconry of Norwich.

[8] p. 27. It is much to be regretted that this excellent work is most difficult to be met with, for there are few books which more correctly answer to the profession of their title-pages. The title is "Illustrations of the manners and expences of antient times in England, in the 15th, 16th, and 17th centuries, deduced from the accompts of churchwardens and other authentic documents. London, 1797." 4to. The whole impression, except about eight or ten copies, is said to have been destroyed by fire. Nicholls, the compiler, speaks thus of it himself: "I have no hesitation in saying, in a case where it can neither promote my interest, nor hazard my veracity, that this volume is not only one of the scarcest publications of the eighteenth century, but, in its way, is also one of the most curious." Literary anecdotes, vol. ix. p. 196. Copies are in the Bodleian and Museum libraries.

In the accounts of the 7th year of Henry the fourth occurs the following entry: "Die parasceves—in denariis solutis pro eisdem oblationibus reassumptis, pro annulis medicinalibus inde faciendis, xxv.*s*." *cit.* Archæol. journal, vol. 4. p. 78. Bishop Gardiner is said, in a letter to bishop Ridley, to have spoken of such rings as endued "by the special gift of curation ministered to the kings of this realm." Ibid. vol. 3. p. 359.

The Form of Healing.

The Office of blessing Cramp-rings.

The Ceremonies for the Healing of them that be diseased with the King's Evil, as they were practised in the time of King Henry VII.[1]

FIRST, the king, kneeling, shall begin and say:

In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti. Amen.

And so soon as he hath said that, he shall say:

Benedicite.

The chaplain kneeling before the king, having a stole about his neck, shall answer and say:

Dominus sit in corde tuo et labiis tuis, ad confitendum omnia peccata tua; in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti. Amen.

Or else to say:

Jesus nos exaudiat, in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti. Amen.

Then by and by the king shall say:

Confiteor Deo, beatæ Mariæ virgini, omnibus sanctis, and vobis, quia peccavi nimis in cogitatione, locutione et opere, mea culpa. Precor sanctam Mariam, omnes sanctos Dei, et vos orare pro me.

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[1] The full title of the book is: "The ceremonies us'd in the time of King Henry VII. for the Healing of them that be diseased with the King's Evil. Published by his Majesties command. London. Printed by *Henry Hills*, Printer to the King's most excellent Majesty, for his houshold and chappel, 1686." 4to.

The chaplain shall answer and say:

Misereatur vestri omnipotens Deus, et demittat vobis omnia peccata vestra, liberet vos ab omni malo, salvet et confirmet in bono, et ad vitam perducat æternam. Amen.

Absolutionem et remissionem omnium peccatorum vestrorum, spatium veræ pœnitentiæ et emendationem vitæ, gratiam et consolationem sancti Spiritus, tribuat vobis omnipotens et misericors Dominus. Amen.

This done, the chaplain shall say:

Dominus vobiscum.

The king shall answer:

Et cum spiritu tuo.

The chaplain:

Sequentia sancti evangelii secundum Marcum.

The king shall answer:

Gloria tibi, Domine.

The chaplain shall read the gospel:

In illo tempore. Recumbentibus undecim discipulis apparuit illis Jesus: et exprobravit incredulitatem eorum, et duritiem cordis: quia iis, qui viderant eum resurrexisse, non crediderunt. Et dixit eis; euntes in mundum universum, prædicate evangelium omni creaturæ. Qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit, salvus erit: qui vero non crediderit, condemnabitur. Signa autem eos, qui crediderint, hæc sequentur; in nomine meo dæmonia ejicient: linguis loquentur novis: serpentes tollent: et si mortiferum quid biberint, non eis nocebit. Super ægros manus imponent, et bene habebunt.

Which clause, Super ægros, *etc., the chaplain repeats as long as the king is handling the sick person. And in the time of the repeating the aforesaid words,*

Super ægros, *etc.*, *the clerk of the closet shall kneel before the king, having the sick person upon the right hand, and the sick person shall likewise kneel before the king: and then the king shall lay his hand upon the sore of the sick person.*

This done, the chaplain shall make an end of the gospel; and in the mean time the chirurgeon shall lead away the sick person from the king.

Et Dominus quidem Jesus, postquam locutus est eis, assumptus est in cœlum, et sedet a dextris Dei. Illi autem profecti prædicaverunt ubique, Domino cooperante, et sermonem confirmante, sequentibus signis.

Then the chaplain shall begin to say again:

Dominus vobiscum.

The king shall answer:

Et cum spiritu tuo.

The chaplain:

Initium sancti evangelii secundum Joannem.

The king shall say:

Gloria tibi, Domine.

The chaplain then shall say this gospel following:

In principio erat Verbum, . . . in hunc mundum.

Which last clause, Erat lux vera, *etc.*, *shall still be repeated so long as the king shall be crossing the sore of the sick person with an angel noble: and the sick person to have the same angel hanged about his neck, and to wear it until he be full whole.*[2]

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[2] A kind of journal of the sojourn of Charles the second in Holland, in the spring of 1660, was printed in that year: and it includes an account, with many details, of the ceremony of Touching by that king on the 30th of May. Mention is made that "the king has very often touched sick persons at Breda, and at Bruges and Brussels," and the account ends by a state-

This done the chirurgeon shall lead away the sick person as he did before; and then the chaplain shall make an end of the gospel:

In mundo erat, et mundus per ipsum factus est; . . . plenum gratiæ et veritatis.

Then the chaplain shall say:

Sit nomen Domini benedictum.

The king shall answer:

Ex hoc nunc et usque in sæculum.

Then shall the chaplain say this collect following, praying for the sick person or persons:

Domine exaudi orationem meam.

The king shall answer:

Et clamor meus ad te veniat.

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ment that no one "is so perfectly cured as not to be attacked again by the same disease, if he be so unfortunate as to lose the coin which the king hangs about his neck, when he is touched: in which case, he must be touched again." It seems that at that time angels were very scarce at the Hague; and the king used "half Caroluses;" coins of the same value, namely, "two crowns and a half." *Relation, en forme de journal, du voyage et séjour du Roy de la Grande Bretagne*, &c. A la Haye, chez Adrian Vlacy, 1660.

We find an especial allusion to the coin in the description of a "Healing" by Edward the confessor, which Shakspeare has given us:

"*Macd.* What's the disease he means?
Mal. 'Tis called the evil;
A most miraculous work in this good king:
Which often, since my here-remain in England,
I have seen him do. How he solicits heaven
Himself best knows: but strangely visited people,
All swoln and ulcerous, pitiful to the eye,
The mere despair of surgery, he cures;
Hanging a golden stamp about their necks,
Put on with holy prayers: and 'tis spoken
To the succeeding royalty he leaves
The healing benediction."

Macbeth, act 4. sc. 3.

Compare Holinshed, chron. vol. 1. p. 195.

Oremus.

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, salus æterna credentium, exaudi nos pro famulis tuis, pro quibus misericordiæ tuæ imploramus auxilium, ut reddita sibi sanitate, gratiarum tibi in ecclesia tua referant actiones. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

This prayer is to be said secretly after the sick persons are departed from the king, at his pleasure.

Dominator Domine, Deus omnipotens, cujus benignitate cæci vident, surdi audiunt, muti loquuntur, claudi ambulant, leprosi mundantur, omnes infirmorum curantur languores, et a quo solo donum sanationis humano generi etiam tribuitur, et tanta gratia pro incredibili tua erga hoc regnum bonitate, regibus ejusdem concessa est, ut sola manuum illorum impositione, morbus gravissimus fœtidissimusque depellatur, concede propitius ut tibi propterea gratias agamus, et pro isto singulari beneficio in nos collato, non nobis ipsis, sed nomini tuo assidue gloriam demus, nosque sic ad pietatem semper exerceamus, ut tuam nobis donatam gratiam non solum diligenter conservare, sed in dies magis magisque adaugere laboremus, et præsta, ut quorumcunque corporibus in nomine tuo manus imposuerimus, hac tua virtute in illis operante et nobis ministrantibus, ad pristinam sanitatem restituantur, eam conservent, et pro eadem tibi, ut summo medico et omnium morborum depulsori, perpetuo nobiscum gratias agant: sicque deinceps vitam instituant ut non corpus solum ab infirmitate, sed anima etiam a peccato omnino sanata videatur. Per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum Filium tuum, qui tecum vivit et regnat in unitate sancti Spiritus per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

The Ceremonies of blessing Cramp-rings, on Good-Friday, used by the Catholick Kings of England.[1]

THE psalme "Deus misereatur nostri, etc.," with the "Gloria Patri."

May God take pity upon us and blesse us: may he send forth the light of his face upon us, and take pity on us.

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[1] The following long rubric is taken from a manuscript of about the year 1500; it is printed in the Northumberland house-book, p. 436:—

"The *Order* of the *Kinge*, on Good Friday, touchinge the cominge to Service, *Hallowinge of the Crampe Rings* and *offeringe* and *Creepinge to the Crosse*.

Firste, the kinge to come to the chappell or closset, withe the lords and noblemen, waytinge upon him, without any sword borne before hime as that day: and ther to tarrie in his travers until the byshope and the deane have brought in the crucifixe out of the vestrie, and layd it upon the cushion before the highe alter. And then the usher to lay a carpett for the kinge to creepe to the crosse upon. And that done ther shal be a forme sett upon the carpett before the crucifix, and a cushion laid upon it for the kinge to kneale upon. And the master of the jewel house ther to be ready with the crampe rings in a bason of silver, and the kinge to kneele upon the cushion before the forme, and then the clerke of the closett be redie with the booke concerning the hallowinge of the crampe rings, and the amner [almoner] moste kneele on the right hand of the kinge holdinge the sayd booke. When that is done, the king shall rise and goe to the alter, wheare a gent. usher shall be redie with a cushion for the kinge to kneele upon: and then the greatest lords that shal be ther to take the bason with the rings, and beare them after the kinge to offer. And this done the queene shall come downe out of her closett or traverse, into the chapell with la. and gentle-women waytinge upon

That we may know thy ways on earth: among all nations thy salvation.

May people acknowledge thee, O God: may all people acknowledge thee.

Let nations reioice and be glad, because thou iudgest people with equity: and doest guide nations on the earth.

May people acknowledge thee, O God, may all people acknowledge thee: the earth has sent forth her fruit.

May God blesse us, that God who is ours: may that God blesse us: and may all the bounds of the earth feare him.

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son: and to the holy Ghost.

As it was in the beginning, and now, and ever: and for ever, and ever. Amen.

Then the king reades this prayer:

Almighty eternal God, who by the most copious gifts of thy grace flowing from the unexhausted fountain of thy bounty, hast been graciously pleased for the comfort of mankind, continually to grant us many and various means to relieve us in our miseries, and art willing to make those the instruments and channels of thy gifts, and to grace those persons with more excellent favours, whom thou hast raised to the royal dignity; to the end that as by thee they reign and govern others, so by thee they may prove beneficial to them, and bestow thy favours on the people; graciously heare our prayers and favour-

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her, and creepe to the crosse: and then goe agayne to her closett or traverse, and then the la. to creepe to the crosse likewise; and the lords and noblemen likewise."

ably receive those vows we powre forth with humility, that thou mayest grant to us, who beg with the same confidence, the favour which our ancestors by their hopes in thy mercy have obteined, through Christ our Lord. Amen.

The rings lying in one bason, or more, this prayer is to be said over them:

O God, the maker of heavenly and earthly creatures, and the most gracious restorer of mankind, the dispenser of spiritual grace, and the origin of all blessings; send downe from heaven thy holy Spirit the Comforter upon these rings, artificially fram'd by the workman, and by thy greate power purify them so, that all the malice of the fowle and venomous serpent be driven out; and so the metal, which by thee was created, may remaine pure and free from all dregs of the enemy, through Christ our Lord. Amen.

The blessing of the rings.

O God of Abraham, God of Isaac, God of Jacob, heare mercifully our prayers. Spare those who feare thee. Be propitious to thy suppliants, and graciously be pleased to send downe from heaven thy holy angel; that he may sanctify ✠ and blesse ✠ these rings; to the end they may prove a healthy remedy to such as implore thy name with humility, and accuse themselves of the sins which ly upon their conscience; who deplore their crimes in the sight of thy divine clemency, and beseech with earnestnes and humility thy most serene piety. May they in fine by the invocation of thy holy name become profitable to all such as weare them, for the health of their soule and body, through Christ our Lord. Amen.

A blessing.

O God, who hast manifested the greatest wonders of thy power by the cure of diseases, and who were pleased that rings should be a pledge of fidelity in the patriark Judah, a priestly ornament in Aaron, the mark of a faithful guardian in Darius, and in this kingdom a remedy for divers diseases: graciously be pleased to blesse ✠ and sanctify ✠ these rings, to the end that all such who weare them may be free from all snares of the devil, may be defended by the power of celestial armour, and that no contraction of the nerves or any danger of the falling-sickness may infest them, but that in all sort of diseases by thy help they may find relief. In the name of the Father, ✠ and of the Son, ✠ and of the holy Ghost ✠. Amen.

Blesse, O my soule, the Lord: and let all things which are within me praise his holy name.

Blesse, O my soule, the Lord: and do not forget all his favours.

He forgives all thy iniquities: he heales all thy infirmities.

He redeemes thy life from ruin: he crownes thee with mercy and commiseration.

He fils thy desires with what is good: thy youth like that of the eagle shal be renewed.

The Lord is he who does mercy: and does iustice to those who suffer wrong.

The merciful and pitying Lord: the long sufferer, and most mighty merciful.

He will not continue his anger for ever: neither wil he threaten for ever.

He has not dealt with us in proportion to our sins: nor has he rendred unto us according to our offences.

Because according to the distance of heaven from earth: so has he enforced his mercies upon those who feare him.

As far distant as the east is from the west: so far has he divided our offences from us.

After the manner that a father takes pity of his sons; so has the Lord taken pity of those who feare him: because he knows what we are made of.

He remembers that we are but dust; man like hey such are his days: like the flower in the field so wil he fade away.

Because his breath wil passe away through him, and he wil not be able to subsist: and it wil find no longer its owne place.

But the mercy of the Lord is from all eternity: and will be for ever upon those who feare him.

And his iustice comes upon the children of their children: to those who keep his wil.

And are mindful of his commandements: to performe them.

The Lord in heaven has prepared himselfe a throne: and his kingdom shall reign over all.

Blesse yee the Lord all yee angels of his, yee who are powerful in strength: who execute his commands, at the hearing of his voice when he speakes.

Blesse yee the Lord all yee vertues of his: yee ministers who execute his wil.

Blesse yee the Lord all yee works of his throughout all places of his dominion: my soule praise thou the Lord.

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son: and to the holy Ghost.

As it was in the beginning, and now and ever: and for ever and ever. Amen.

Wee humbly implore, O merciful God, thy infinit clemency; that as we come to thee with a confident soule, and sincere faith, and a pious assurance of mind; with the like devotion thy beleevers may follow on these tokens of thy grace. May all superstition be banished hence, far be all suspicion of any diabolical fraud, and to the glory of thy name let all things succeede; to the end thy beleevers may understand thee to be the dispenser of all good; and may be sensible and publish, that whatsoever is profitable to soul or body, is derived from thee: through Christ our Lord. Amen.

These prayers being said, the king's highnes rubbeth the rings between his hands, saying:

Sanctify, O Lord, these rings, and graciously bedew them with the dew of thy benediction, and consecrate them by the rubbing of our hands, which thou hast been pleased according to our ministery to sanctify by an external effusion of holy oyle upon them; to the end that what the nature of the mettal is not able to performe, may be wrought by the greatnes of thy grace: through Christ our Lord. Amen.

Then must holy water be cast on the rings, saying:

In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the holy Ghost. Amen.

O Lord, the only begotten Son of God, mediatour of God and men, Jesus Christ, in whose name alone salvation is sought for, and to such as hope in thee givest an easy acces to thy Father; who when conversing among men, thyself a man, didst promise by an assured oracle flowing from thy sacred mouth, that thy Father should grant whatever was asked him in thy name; lend a gracious eare of pity to these prayers of ours; to the end that approaching with

confidence to the throne of thy grace, the beleevers may find by the benefits conferrd upon them, that by thy mediation we have obteined, what we have most humbly beg'd in thy Name; who livest and reignest with God the Father, in the unity of the holy Ghost, one God, for ever and ever. Amen.

Wee beseech thee, O Lord, that the Spirit, which proceedes from thee, may prevent and follow on our desires; to the end that what we beg with confidence for the good of the faithful, we may efficaciously obteine by thy gracious gift: through Christ our Lord. Amen.

O most clement God; Father, Son, and holy Ghost; wee supplicate and beseech Thee, that what is here performed by pious ceremonies to the sanctifying of thy name, may be prevalent to the defense of our soule and body on earth; and profitable to a more ample felicity in heaven. Who livest and reignest God, world without end. Amen.

A Form of Bidding the Bedes.

The Form of Bidding the Bedes,

anciently used in the cathedral church of the diocese of Salisbury.[1]

DEINDE eat processio hoc ordine: procedat minister virgam manu gestans locum faciens processioni. Deinde puer in superpellicio cum aqua benedicta; deinde cæteri ministri juxta ordinem prædictum. Deinde pueri et clerici de secunda forma juxta ordinem quo disponuntur in capitulo, habitu non mutato; et exeat processio per ostium presbyterii septentrionale, circumiens presbyterium. Episcopus, si præsens fuerit, mitram gerat et baculum. In fine processionis sacerdos vero, sive episcopus præsens fuerit, sive non, in anteriori parte cum puero aquam deferente procedat, et in eundo singula altaria aspergat.

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[1] The form according to the use of York is in the manual printed for the Surtees society, p. 123.

The manuscript from which the form in the text is taken, now in the cathedral library at Salisbury, has the following note at the end: "Die Sabbati, viz. decimo septimo die mensis octobris anno domini millesimo quingentesimo septuagesimo tertio Johannes Pyers, decanus, &c., canonici residentarii ecc. cath. capitulariter congregati, et capitulum facientes, librum hunc inspicientes, quam plurima in eodem superstitiosa et verbo Dei et legibus hujus regni Angliæ contraria invenimus. Quoniam pietate erga Deum et obedientia erga principem commoti, nos unanimi consensu et assensu decrevimus quicquid in hoc libro scripturæ sacræ dissonum est, et statutis hujus regni Angliæ repugnans penitus abrogandum fore atque abrogatum esse hiis scriptis judicamus." Then follow the autograph signatures of the then dean and canons.

In duplicibus tamen festis, quæ in dominicis contingunt, in procedendo altaria non aspergat. Deinde in australi parte per fontes venientes procedant ad crucem, sacerdote cum suis ministris prædictis in medio stante suo ordine, ita quod puer deferens aquam et acolytus stent ad gradum ante crucem. Quilibet autem clericus interesse potest processioni totius anni, licet nulli horæ diei præcedentis interfuit.

We shalle make oure prayers to God besechyng his mercy for alle holy churche, that god hit kepe in goode estate. In especial oure mother churche, this churche, and alle other in cristendome, ... For archybysshopes, and bysshopes, and in especial for my lorde the bysshop of this see, that god hym kepe in his holy seruise: For my lorde ye dean, my masters the chanons, vikers, prestes, and clerkes, and alle other mynysters that this churche seruyth: For the holy land that god hit deliuer owte of hethen handes: For oure souerayne lorde the kyng, the queene, and alle her children, and alle other lordes, dukes, merkeises, herles, and barons, and alle tho that have this lond to gouerne: For the pees of thes landes yngland and fraunce, that god make perpetual pees by twix hem. And for the goode estate of the lord verdon, now my lord therl of shrowysbury, that fyndyth contynuelly lyght at the hie auter . . . . And for ye welfare of . . . . and alle this churches frendes, oure brethern and sustern, and alle oure paresshens, wyth alle tho that any good dooth to this chirche, and alle trewe crystyn pepill: Pater noster.

Hic revertat se sacerdos et dicat: ps.

Deus misereatur nostri. *Ex utraque parte chori, cum* Gloria patri. *et* Sicut erat.

Sequatur: Kyrieleyson. Christeleyson. Kyrieleyson.

Pater noster.

Deinde dicat sacerdos in audientia, sine nota:

Et ne nos.

Ostende nobis, Domine, misericordiam tuam.

Sacerdotes tui induantur justitiam.

Domine, salvum fac regem.

Salvos fac servos tuos, et ancillas tuas.

Salvum fac populum tuum, Domine, et benedic hæreditati tuæ.

Domine, fiat pax in virtute tua.

Domine, exaudi orationem meam.

Dominus vobiscum.

Oremus.

Oratio.

Deus qui caritatis dona per gratiam sancti Spiri tus tuorum cordibus fidelium infundis, da famulis et famulabus tuis, pro quibus tuam deprecamur clementiam, salutem mentis et corporis, ut te tota virtute diligant, et quæ tibi placita sunt tota dilectione perficiant, et pacem tuam nostris concede temporibus: Per Christum dominum nostrum. Amen.

Item conversus ad populum, dicat sacerdos:

We shalle pray, and beseche god of his mercy for alle trewe crystyn sowles. In especial for alle bysshopes sowles, whos bodyes resteth in this holy place: For the bysshopes sowle Robert, the bysshops sowle Jocelyn, the bysshops sowle Herbert, the bysshops sowle Richarde, whiche bygan this chirche here, and first ordainid oure lady masse. For the bysshops sowle Robert, the bysshopes sowle William, the

bysshops sowle Gyle, the bysshops sowle Water, The bishopps soule Robert, the bysshops soule Water, the bisshops sowle Herry, the bisshops soule William, the bisshops soule Nichol, the bisshops soule Symon, the bisshops soule Rogger, the bisshopes soule Robert, and for the bisshops soule William Edyngton that was bisshop of Wynchester, the bisshops soule John Waltham, and for William's soule Wykham, that was bisshop of Wynchester: for the bysshops soule Richard Medeford, for Thomas soule Arundelle that was archebishop of Canterbury, and for the byschop sowle Robert Halum, the byschop sowle Nichol Bubwyth that was byschop of Bathe. And for herrys sowle Bewfort late bysshop of Wynchester and cardinal of Rome: for the bysshop sowle John Chaundeler. And for the bysshop sowle William Ayscogh, and for the byschop soule Rycharde Bewchamp, the byschop soule James Goldwel, the byschop soule John Blythe, the byschop soule Thomas Langton that was bysshop of Wynchester, the bischop soule Leouell, the bischop soule Harry Shere, And for the bysshop soule Edmunde Awdeley.

Whych byschopys have in ther tyme wurchipped[1]

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[1] The use of this word here, and again a few lines below, explains rather than merely illustrates in what sense it is to be understood in the marriage service of the reformed church of England. See also above, note 57, p. 124.

In the famous romance of King Arthur, Morgan le fay is prevented by her son from murdering king Uryens, and he is about to kill her: but, being entreated, he lets her go and she begs him also to keep the matter secret: "I cry thee mercy: I wyll never more doo soo; and saue my worship and discover me not." Edit. Southey, vol. 1. p. 108.

thys churche wythe precyous vestymentys, and many other jewells.

For the soules of all deanes, chanons, vicars, prestes, and clerks, that thus churche served in ther liff. In especiall the deane soule Robert. The deane soule M. Gilbert Rymer, &c.

M. Thomas Holes. M. Rycharde Dudley.

M. John Baker. M. John Pryce.

And for the soules of all other mynysters of thus churche, which have served hit, or done eny gode therto in her dayes.

And on the secunde parte, we shall pray for all kyngis soules patrones of thus churche, and alle other lordes that have worshypped hit w^t her bodyes, rentes or eny other iowels. And in especiall for the soules of the kyngis William Rowse, Herry the firste, king Stevyn, Herry the secunde, Richard the firste, kynge John soule, and the kynge sowle Herry the thridde, the kynge soule Edward the firste, Edward the secunde, Edward the thridd. And for edwarde soule prynce of walys: which yaff moche gode to the table of the hyghe auter: for the soule of kyng Richarde the secunde. And for the soules of kynges Herry the fourthe, Herry the fifte, Herry the sixte, for the soule of kyng Edwarde the fourthe. And for the soule of king Henry the sevynth, Henry the eyghte, Edwarde the syxte.

For the erles soule of Sarum William longespe: for Jamys soule sum tyme lorde of Audeleigh: for Johnys soule lorde Louel: Thomas soule Monteagu, erle of Sarum: for the soule of hubert of burgh, for water sowle lord hungerford, etc.

And for alle soules whos bonys restyth in this churche and churche yerde. And all tho that hath

yeve to this churche, rentys, vestimentis, or othere goodys; whereby God is the more worshipped in this churche: and the mynysters thereof better susteyned: for all oure brethern and sistren soules, alle our pareshens soules. And for alle the soules that hath done eny good to this churche, and for alle crysten soules. Pater noster.

Hic revertat se sacerdos, et dicatur a choro alternatim supradicto modo hic psalmus, videlicet:

De profundis: *sine* Gloria Patri.

Sed cum:

Kyrie eleyson: Christe eleyson: Kyrie eleyson. Pater noster.

Deinde dicat sacerdos, sine nota:

Et ne nos inducas in tentationem.

Requiem æternam dona eis, Domine.

A porta inferi.

Credo videre bona Domini.

Dominus vobiscum.

Oremus.

Absolve quæsumus, Domine, animas famulorum tuorum, pontificum, regum, famulorum famularumque tuarum, et animas omnium fidelium defunctorum, ab omni vinculo delictorum; ut in resurrectionis gloria inter sanctos et electos tuos resuscitati respirent. Per Christum dominum nostrum.

Requiescant in pace. Amen.

I.

Exhortation before communion.

II.

Forms of exhortation in Visitation of the sick.

Exhortation before communion.[1]

GOOD men and women, y charge yow by the auctoryte of holy churche, that no man nother woman that this day proposyth here to be comenyd [*communicated*] that he go note to Godds bord, lase than he byleue stedfastlych, that the sacrament that he ys avysyd here to reseue, that yt ys Godds body, flesche and blode, yn the forme of bred; & that [*which*] he receyvythe afterward, ys no thyng ells but wyne & water, for to clense yowr mowthys of the holy sacrament. Furthermor, y charge yow that no man nother woman go to Godds borde, lase than he be of ys synnys clen confessyd, & for hem contryte; that ys to sey, hauyng sorow yn yowr herts, for yowre synnys. Furthermore, I charge yow yf ther be eny man or woman, that beryth yn his herte eny wrothe or rancor to eny of his even-cristen [*fellow-christian*] that he be not ther how-selyd, ther to the tyme that he be with hym yn perfyte love & cheryte, for ho so [*whoso*] beryth wrethe or evyll wyll yn herte, to eny of hys even-cristen, he ys note worthy hys God to receyue; and yf he do, he reseyvythe his dampnacyon, where he schuld receyue his saluacion. Furthermore, y charge yow that none of yow go to Godds borde to day, lasse than he be yn full wyll & purpose for to sese

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[1] From Harleian MS. 2383, in the British museum. This extract is preceded by a form of private confession, and followed by a long form of absolution in Latin; after which come a homily and other miscellaneous matters.

and to withstond the deds of syn. For who proposyth now to contynue yn syn aȝene after hys holy tyme, he is note worthy to receyue his God; & yf he do hyt ys to hym grete perell. Furthermore, I charge all strangers bothe men and women, that none of yow go to godds borde, yn to tyme that ȝe haue spoke with me, other [*or*] with myn asynys. Furthermore, y charge yow bothe men and women that havythe servants, that ȝe takythe hede that they be well y gouernyd yn takyng of mets & drynks, for the perell that may be fall, thorow forfeytyng of mets & drynks, for yf he brakythe or castythe hit owte with yn a day & a nyȝthe that he take hit yn to a vessell and do hit yn the fyyr. Also I charge hym that he be confessyd therof a-morow. Also ȝe shall knell adown apon yowr kneys, seyyng after me, y cry God mercy, and our lady seynt mary, & all the holy company of hevyn, & my gostelyche fadyr, of all the trespasse of syn that y have don, in thowte, word, other [*or*] yn dede, fro the tyme that y was bore, yn to this tyme; that ys to say in Pryde, Envy, Wrethe, Slowthe, Covetyse, Gloteny, & Lechery. The v. commawndements, dyuerse tymys y broke. The werks of mercy, note y fulfyllyd. My v. wytts mysse spend, etc. Misereatur vestri omnipotens Deus, etc.

Absolutionis forma.

Deus noster Jesus Christus, pro sua magna misericordia, etc.

A Form of Exhortation at visiting the Sick.[1]

TO comfort a man or a woman, yn her laste ende, a priste schulde seyʒe thys. My dere frende, hit semyth that thou hyest faste owte of thys worlde, that ys so wrechyde, to the blysse of euer lastyng joyʒe; therefore put onlyche all thyn herte, & all thy mynde, yn almyʒty Gode that made the, & hathe y bouʒte the wythe his preciouse blode; and be glade that thou schalte com to heuen; there ys all maner joyʒe; where thou schalte se almyʒtty Gode our saueour yn hys godhede, sothefaste gode & man; and ye schalte y fynde & y se all blessyde seintts, that prayeth for vs euer more, and principally our lady seint Marye, and holy angels, the apostelys, martyres, & confessours, & virgins & all blessyd men and wemen, that buthe y passyde to heuen a fore vs; the whych Cryste our saueour bouʒte whyth hys preciouse blode apon the roode tree, and therefor they louyde all myʒtty Gode our saueour aboue all thynges; fore as the holy doctor seint Austyn telluthe, all thyngs that Cryste suffrede fore loue of mankynde, hyt was for loue that he hadde to saue mans soule. So as he sauyde the by loue, & for the suffrede an herde pascion, ware by thou schalte be sauyde, loke that thou haue hys pascion yn mynde, and loue allmyʒty Gode aboue all thyngs; for as seint Austyn seythe,

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[1] From Harleian MS. 2383, in the library of the British museum.

so as Cryste suffrede all thys for loue of the, thou arte moste y holde of all thyngs to loue hym; and therfor, my dere frende, loke that thou be yn stydfaste fey, what euer thou hyre or se; and put the onlych in to the mercye of Gode our saueour, & drede the nou3te of no thyng that thou haste y do: be sory for thy synnes, & schreue the clene, & thynke to synne no more. For seint Austyn sey3t, the goodnesse & the mercy of all myg3ty Gode our saueour ys so meche, that throw sorow of herte & schryfte of mouthe, wyllyng to do no more amysse, he for3eue the clen his syn, for God hym sylfe seythe thus; what tyme that eny man ore woman for sakythe his synnes, and makuthe hym clen therof, he schall be sauyd: and holy doctours & blessyd seintts seythe, that God all my3tty ys mor redy to 3eue mercye than eny man or woman be for to axy. Austyn seythe, be the synne neuer so grete ne neuer so foule, and y wolde axe mercye of all my3tty God our saueour, thou schalte be saue [*sic*] thou3e thou schulduste dey anon: therfor my der worthe frende, drede the nou3te of dethe, but be glade as seint Austyn was when he schulde dey3e; whan he seyde, welkome be thou dethe, for thou art ende of all wykkydnes of synnes & care & all wrechydnesse; and thou artt the begynnyng of all goodnesse of ever lastynge joy3e, & blysse, & all blessydnes. And so he was glade to passye owt of thys wrechyd worlde, to the ioyfull blysse of heuen, there ys all blessyde company. And therfor, my dere brother, be gladde to passy to the blysse of heuen, for tho thou my33ttyste be lorde of all this wrechyd worlde, thou shuldyste be glad to passy to the blysse of heuen: for then thou schalt y se all

my3tty God our saueour, and all blessyd company, & ther thou schalt y fynde all goodness: for as seint Paule seythe, that is no herte that may thenke, nore no tonge may telle, all the goodnesse that God all myte our saueour hath ordeynyd to alle thukke men and wemen, that with all hur herte clen forsakuthe hur synnes, and loueth all my3tty God our saueour aboue all thyng: therefor, my dere frende, do thou so, and thou schalt com to the grete blysse of heuen, that euer schall laste, wythe owte ende. Amen, for charite.

De visitatione infirmorum.[1]

MY dere sone in God, thou hiest fast thi wai to Godward; there thou shalt see alle thi former faderis, apostils, martiris, confessoris, virginis, and alle men and wommen that be sauid. And therfor be of gode comfort in God, and thou must leyen a ston in the wal of cite of heuen witouten ani noise or strif. And therfor ar thou wenden out of this world, thou must make thi ston redi, and than shalt thu nouȝt be lette. ¶. The ston is thi soule wiche thou makest clene; the noise that thu must make here is the thinking of thi sinne, wyche thou must telle the prest; the stroke is penaunce, that thou shalt be sori for thi sinne, and smithe thiself on thi brest; and whan thou hast made redi thus thi ston, than may thou go thi wai in God, and lai thi ston sykerlie [*surely*] witoute noise in the cite of heuene; and therfor I counsail the, that thou schriue the clene, and make the redi. And this is nouȝt only to seke men but also to hole, for everi dai a man nehieth [*approacheth*] his deth ner and ner; and of a man it is seid, the more he wexith the more he unwexith, and therfor seith the gospel, Awake, for thu wost never whan

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[1] From a manuscript (no. 117, fol. 123 *b*) in the library of St. John's college, Oxford.

Students who are members of the reformed church of England may compare the preceding "exhortation" with that in their present order of communion, and these two exhortations with something similar in their office for visiting the sick.

oure God wil come; and therfor loke thu alwai be redi. And thu shalt wite [*know*], gode man, that God visiteth mani man for his sinnes diversly; some wit prisoning, some wit diverse sekenes, and if the sinne were awai, than his sekenes shuld aslake. Hereof berith witnes the gospel, that God seith thus to ten mesels [*lepers*], whan he had helid hem of here lepre, go, he said, and sinne no more on aunter thow falle wors, as who seith, for thowre sinne the had this sekenes. And therfor it is ordeined be the law, that ther shal no leche ȝeve no bodili medicine to a seke man, til he be helid gostli; and that he have take gostli medicine, that is to sai, schrift and housel; and if ȝe be wel schrive and veray repentaunt I drede nouȝt that the sekenes shal aslake wiche he hath for sinne, or ellis it shal turne him to more blisse after his deth; and therfor if his sekenes aslake nouȝt thou shalt comfort him on this maner.

How thou shalt comfort a man that he grucche [grudge] *nouȝt whan he is seke.*

Sone loueste thou thi Lord God? he wil sai, ȝe. Than thus, ȝf thou loue God, thou louest that he doith, and he skorgeth the, and therfor thou shalt gladli suffre it. Here of spekit Salamon, and seith, Sone speke nouȝt aȝen the chastising of thi fader, for it is no sone whom the fader chastisith nouȝt, and it acordith wit commine maner of speche. For if a man see anotheris child do schreudeli in his fader presence, and the fader chastised him nouȝt, than wold that othir man seie, it is nouȝt his sonne, or ellis he loueth him nouȝt, for if he were his child or ellis loued him, he wold chastise him: and therfor be nouȝt evil afraide of thi fadirs chastising of heuene,

for he seith himself: whom I loue, him I chastise. Also sekenes of bodi makith soule hele [*health*], and soule hele is nouȝt but of God; therfor despice nought Godis scorge, but whan God ponissche the, thanke him and loue him, that he emendith the, and undernemith [*helpeth*, or rather, perhaps, *traineth*, *formeth by discipline*] the, and blameth the, and ponische the nouȝt in his wrath ne in his wodnes [*fury*], but in his grete mercy. Thank thi God, and thinke that his merci passeth alle his grete wreche [*wreaking of vengeance*]; he is jugge [*judge*], he wil nouȝt damne the, but he wil haue merci on the. Mercifulli he chastise the, and ther [*where*] thou hast deservid for to have his wrath, and be damned for ever, he puttith ouer his veniaunce, and suffrith of his grete mercy, and ponische the here but awile, and therfor despice nouȝt his ȝerde [*rod*] of merci, ne grucche nouȝt ther aȝens, but suffre it gladli, for al the domis [*judgments*] of God ben rithful. Now sethen [*since*] sekenes of God is hele to the soule, and wille thou or nilt, thou shal haue hit, ȝif thou grucche aȝen God, and wit thi grucching thou makist thi soule more feble, and so thou profitist nouȝt to thiself wit thi grucching aȝen thi fadir, wiche is thi leche, but greuist thiself on diuerses maners; on [*one*] is, that thou greuist thi God: another thou shalt nouȝt haue so miche gostly mede [*reward*] as thou shuldest, ȝif thou suffred deth pacientliche. And thou shalt knowe that God fadir of heuene ponissche nout o [*one*] thing tuyes, and therfor wit a glad hert thou shalt suffre sekenes that God hathe sent the here, for it shal alegge [*allay*] the of the peyne of purgatorie, so that thou the more soner shal come to the kingdome of heuene.

Thinke that if the king to whom thou hast ben tretour forȝeuith the thi deth and ponische the but awile in esi prison, thou art michil hold to him. So thou art to God, to whom thou hast ben tretour, and he hath forȝiue the euerlasting deth, and ponischinge the wit a litul sekenes here.

ȝif a man be nie the deth, speke to him on this maner, and sai:

Man, ȝif thou thouȝthist and wel seie [*saw*] the mischeuis of this world, thou shuldest desire to dye and be wit God: holi writ seith, blessed be thei that die in God. Loke thi beginning of thi lif, care and sorwe; thi fothliuing, trauail and tene and disese, and so thu ledist thi lif. Now whether is it better, die wel or lif euele? Parde [*truly*] die wel, thou maist nouȝt lif [*live*] fulli wel be no wai in this wrecchid world, for holi writ seith, eueri man is a lier, that is to seie, sinful; and also it seith that seuen sithes in the dai fallith a rithfulman; and that seith seint Poul, that no man liueth witout sum defaute; and seith thus to God; I desire to be dede and be wit God, for the wickidnes of this world mai no man telle. Here is hunger and thirst, cold and hete, trauail and werinesse, enuie and wrath, glotonie and lecherie, pride and slouthe, couetise and falsnesse, manslauȝther and thefte, and many other; and there is no man witoute alle these, that he ne hath som of these, for eueri man is sinful, and therfor those olde filosophurs maden euer sorwe when ere children were bore, and ioie whan thei died, and passid out of the wo of this world. And seint Austin whan he shuld be ded, he spak to deth on this maner: A thou deth end of alle wickidnes, thou deth end of trauail, beginning of ese and alle

ioie, what man mai bethenke the profitis and the blisses that thou bringist wit the? thou art desireful to me, for a Cristin may nouȝt euil die, but wel die, and lif [*live*] wit Criste.

Whan thou hast told him alle this, or ellis ȝif thou haue no time to sai alle for hast of deth, begin here, and speke to him on this maner, whan thou seest that he neiheth [neareth] *the deth:*[a]

Brother, art thou glad that thou shalt die in Cristin feith? *Resp.* ȝe.

Knowleche that thou hast nouȝt wel liued as thou shuldest? *Resp.* ȝe.

Art thou sori therfor? *Resp.* ȝe.

Hast thou wil to amend the, ȝif thou haddist space of lif? *Resp.* ȝe.

Leuist thou in God, Fader Almighti, maker of heuene and of erthe? *Resp.* ȝe.

Leuist thou in the Fader and Sone and Holi Gost, thre persons and on [*one*] God? *Resp.* ȝe.

Leuist thou that oure Lord Jesus Crist Godis Sone of heuene was conseiuid of the Holi Gost, and toke flesche and blode of oure ladi seint Marie, and was borne of hir, she being moder and mayde? *Resp.* ȝe.

Leuist thou that he suffrid pine and deth, for oure

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[a] Similar exhortations for the sick are to be found in many manuscripts: and they generally provide for nearness of death. For instance, in Harleian MS. 211 we have the rubric: "ȝiff they drawe to the deth, what thou schalt seyn to them:" and again, "Whan thow hast told hym all thys, or ellis ȝiff thow myghtist nat for haste of deth, begyn heere er hys memorie fayle hym." Compare Harleian MS. 2396, which has a rubric as if applying to lay folke: "How men ȝat beth in hele [health] scholde visite syke men." The Harleian MS. 237 has a like form, but to be used by a priest: the rubrics being "tunc dicat sacerdos."

trespas, and nouȝt for his gilt, under Pounce Pilate, and that he was don on the cros, and died for the on god Fridai, and was buried? *Resp.* ȝe.

Thankest thou him therfor? *Resp.* ȝe.

Leuist thou that thou may nouȝt be sauid but throw his deth? *Resp.* ȝe.

Tunc dicat sacerdos:

Wil [*while*] thi soule is in thi bodi, put alle thi trust in his passion and in his deth, and thenke onli theron, and on non other thing. Wit his deth medil the [*mingle thyself*] and wrappe the therinne, nouȝt thinking on thi wif, ne on thi children, no on thi rychesse, but al on the passion of Crist, and haue the crosse [*crucifix*] to fore the, and sai thus:—I wot wel thou art nouȝt my God, but thou art imagened aftir him, and makest me haue more minde of him after whom thou art imagened. Lord fader of heuene, the deth of oure lord Jhu Crist, thi sone, wiche is here imagened, I set betwene the and my euil dedis, and the desert [*merits*] of Jhu Crist I offre for that I shuld haue deseruid, and have nouȝt.

Sey aȝen:

Lord, the deth of oure lord Jhu Crist the sone wiche was bore of seint Marie, moder and maiden, I sette betuene me and thi wrath.

And sai:

Into thi handes, Lord, I betake my soule, for thou God of treuthe bouȝtist me.

And sei it threis.

Seint Austin spake to God on this maner:

A, my Lord God, my mercy, my refuge, the I desire, to the I fle, I hie to come to the, Lord despice nouȝt me, thow I be wrecched and sinful, but be to me helper in theis my grete nedis, for I may nouȝt

helpe, and aȝenbie myself wit my dedis, but thou Lorde hast bouȝt me, thou bring me out of care, and haue mercy on me. I trust nouȝt on my dedis, but despeir of hem; saue ȝit I trust more on thi merciis, than in the dispeir of my wicked dedes. Thou art my hope, thou art my God, thou art ful of mercy, aȝein the I have sinned thorw my grete defaute. I come and knouleche to the, I beseche the of merci, wiche deniest to no man merci.

Benedictus Dominus Deus: a saeculo et in saeculum.

Index.

THE END.